

2025



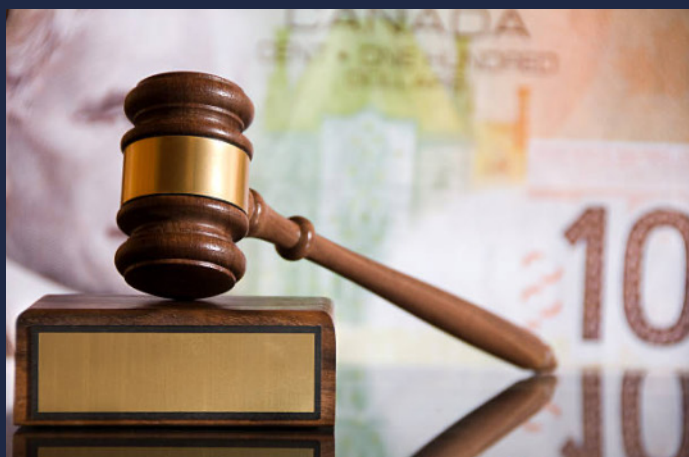
SINCE
DEPUIS
1919

JUSTICE

Vol.40 **ACTUALITÉS - REPORT** No.4

CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION - ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE JUSTICE PÉNALE

CCJA SERIES ACJP 2025



INSIDE AU SOMMAIRE

ANONYMIZED DATA

...

12 IS TOO YOUNG

...

BAIL NOT JAIL

...

LIVED EXPERIENCE

...

BOOKS REVIEWED
(Gracia Younes / Ezzat
Fattah)

ONLINE - EN LIGNE : CCJA-ACJP.CA

The JUSTICE REPORT contains information of value to Association readers and the public interested in matters related to the administration of justice in Canada. Opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the Association's views, but are included to encourage reflection and action on the criminal justice system throughout Canada.

For more information on the activities of the CCJA, please contact:

L'ACTUALITÉS JUSTICE renferme des renseignements utiles aux lecteurs de l'Association et au public qui s'intéressent aux questions relatives à l'administration de la justice au Canada. Les opinions qui sont exprimées ne reflètent pas nécessairement les vues de l'Association, mais y figurent afin d'encourager à réfléchir et à agir sur la justice pénale dans tout le Canada.

Pour obtenir de plus amples renseignements sur les activités de l'Association, veuillez communiquer avec :

**CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE JUSTICE PÉNALE**

P • 101-320, av. Parkdale Ave., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1Y 4X9
T • 613 725.3715 | F • 613 725.3720 | E • ccja-acjp@rogers.com
ccja-acjp.ca

**NANCY WRIGHT, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF SINCE 2012.
NANCY WRIGHT, RÉDACTRICE EN CHEF DEPUIS 2012.
E • ccjapubsacjp@gmail.com**

©2025 CCJA-ACJP. All Rights Reserved. Tous droits réservés.
ISSN 2563-3449 (Print) ISSN 2563-3457 (Online)

LAYOUT BY MARTIN SPIELAUER

JUSTICE

Vol.40 **ACTUALITÉS - REPORT** No.4

EDITORIAL - ÉDITORIAL • P4

By/Par - Irving Kulik

.....

CCJA SERIES • P5

.....

Book Review by Miranda Henderson of They Made a Monster by Gracia Younes • P10

By/Par Miranda Henderson

Résumé français • P11

.....

GENERAL TOPICS

The Criminalization of Youth in Canada: A Call to Raise the Minimum Age of Criminal Responsibility • P12

By/Par Brenda Kobayashi

Résumé français • P17

Winnipeg's Community Safety Team: Compassionate Service Improving Public Safety • P18

By/Par Robert (Bob) Christmas

Résumé français • P20

Evidence Without Exposure: Making the Case for Anonymized, Cross-Sectoral Justice Data in Canada • P21

By/Par Émilie Christopher

Résumé français • P25

Accused Persons Require Support, not Control: Why the "Jail not Bail" Sentiment Lacks Empirical Support • P26

By/Par Alyssa Leblond

Résumé français • P28

Twists and Turns • P29

By/Par Doug Heckbert

Résumé français • P31

.....

BOOK REVIEW SECTION WITH DR. JOHN WINTERDYK

Book Review by Miranda Henderson of The Potential Contribution of Social Science to Tomorrow's Society: A Criminologist's Analysis & Predictions by Ezzat A. Fattah • P32

By/Par Miranda Henderson

Résumé français • P33

.....

Forensic Genetic Genealogy: The Unwilling Informant • P35

By/Par Janne Holmgren

Résumé français • P37

.....

YOUNG RESEARCHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Rehabilitative Architecture: A Barrier-Less Future or invisible Barrier Cemented? • P39

By/Par Megan Davidson

Résumé français • P44

Judicial Interim Release Reform in Canada • P46

By/Par Angel K. Grewal

Résumé français • P48

COMING EVENTS - PROCHAINS ÉVÉNEMENTS • P49



EDITORIAL

IRVING KULIK

Executive Director

Canadian Criminal Justice Association

Welcome to our first digital-only issue of the *Justice Report*. I am extremely proud of what we've accomplished with this beautiful magazine over the years, under the ongoing editorship of Nancy Wright. It was thus not easy for me to recommend eliminating the print version. We cannot, however, escape reality. Most of our membership now prefers an electronic copy. The world, me included, gets their news and information from a screen — and we needed to join the movement. Moreover, as with all print media, escalating costs make paper printing far too expensive.

Economic considerations play a significant role for a charitable organization such as the Canadian Criminal Justice Association. Funding has become more difficult over the last few years. As an example, our biennial Congress is one of our major fundraisers. Over the last eight decades, we have hosted 39 such events across Canada. I have organized 10 during my 21-year tenure as Executive Director. Once a well-funded, go-to event, it too has become more challenging in recent years.

It became clear early on that Congress 2024 would not be a fundraiser; however, it was critically important for the event to maintain its reputation as a high-quality learning environment. We achieved our objective with fewer delegates but presenters of the highest caliber. The Alberta Minister of Public Safety spoke, along with senior judges such as Chief Justice Leonard Marchand (British Columbia). Other notable speakers, including Dr. Irvin Waller, also contributed. Attendee evaluations reflected strong appreciation.

Going forward, I expect we will continue to present high-quality national educational events, as well as attractive regional public education opportunities. We are also looking at partnerships with universities across Canada. Stay tuned for late 2026!

This issue presents an extensive range of articles addressing various topics and proposing necessary reforms and accountability measures within Canada's criminal justice system:

Dr. Alyssa Leblond examines Canada's "jail not bail" reforms, while BA student Angel K. Grewal traces the evolution of bail through Bills C-75 and C-48;

Dr. Brenda Kobayashi critiques Canada's low Minimum Age of Criminal Responsibility and its role in the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in custody;

Émilie Christopher urges greater integration of anonymized data for a national, evidence-based justice framework;

Megan Davidson critiques the built movement for prison design that overlooks rehabilitative programming;

Dr. Janne Holmgren probes the investigative power and privacy risks of forensic genetic genealogy;

Reviewer Miranda Henderson recounts Gracia Younes's memoir, *They Made a Monster*, detailing six harrowing years of confinement in Quebec's youth protection system, and also spotlights a recent anthology by criminologist Dr. Ezzat Fattah;

In *Twists and Turns*, expert Doug Heckbert shares how two formerly incarcerated Edmontonians transformed their trauma and addiction into lives of purpose and advocacy;

Finally, Robert (Bob) Christmas documents how Winnipeg's Community Safety Team is strengthening public safety and gaining social support.

Please accept our best wishes for a good read, a peaceful holiday period and a happy, healthy new year.



ÉDITORIAL

IRVING KULIK

Directeur Général

Association canadienne de justice pénale

Bienvenu dans notre premier numéro de l'*Actualités Justice* en format exclusivement numérique. Je suis extrêmement fier de ce que nous avons accompli au fil des ans avec ce magazine de grande qualité, sous la direction éditoriale constante de Nancy Wright. Il ne m'a donc pas été facile de recommander l'abandon de la version imprimée. Nous ne pouvons toutefois échapper à la réalité. La majorité de nos membres privilégient désormais le format électronique. Le monde, moi y compris, s'informe aujourd'hui à l'écran — et nous devons suivre le mouvement. De plus, comme pour l'ensemble des médias imprimés, l'augmentation des coûts rend l'impression sur papier beaucoup trop onéreuse.

Les considérations économiques jouent un rôle important pour un organisme de bienfaisance comme l'Association canadienne de justice pénale. Le financement est devenu plus difficile au cours des dernières années. À titre d'exemple, notre congrès biennal est l'une de nos principales sources de financement. Au cours des huit dernières décennies, nous avons tenu 39 tels événements partout au Canada. J'en ai organisé dix au cours de mes 21 années à titre de directeur général. Autrefois bien financé et incontournable, il est lui aussi devenu plus difficile ces dernières années.

Il est vite apparu que le Congrès 2024 ne serait pas une collecte de fonds ; il était toutefois crucial de préserver sa réputation de qualité. Nous avons atteint cet objectif, avec moins de déléguées mais des conférenciers de très haut calibre. Le ministre de la Sécurité publique de l'Alberta y a pris la parole, de même que des juges de haut rang, dont le juge en chef Leonard Marchand (Colombie-Britannique). D'autres conférenciers de renom, incluant le Dr Irvin Waller, y ont également contribué. Les évaluations ont été très positives.

À l'avenir, je m'attends à ce que nous continuions à présenter des événements éducatifs nationaux de haute qualité, ainsi que des activités attrayantes d'éducation du public. Nous envisageons également des partenariats universitaires partout au Canada. Restez à l'affût pour la fin de 2026 !

Ce numéro présente une gamme d'articles abordant divers sujets et proposant des réformes nécessaires et des mesures de reddition de comptes au sein du système de justice pénale canadien :

Alyssa Leblond Ph. D. examine les réformes canadiennes dites « jail not bail », tandis que l'étudiante (bacc.) Angel K. Grewal retrace l'évolution de la mise en liberté sous caution à travers les projets de loi C-75 et C-48 ;

Brenda Kobayashi Ph. D. critique le faible âge minimum de la responsabilité pénale au Canada et son rôle dans la surreprésentation des jeunes autochtones en détention ;

Émilie Christopher exhorte à une intégration accrue de données anonymisées afin d'appuyer un cadre national de justice fondé sur des données probantes ;

Megan Davidson critique des approches de conception carcérale qui négligent les programmes de réadaptation ;

Janne Holmgren Ph. D. analyse le pouvoir d'enquête et les risques pour la vie privée liés à la généalogie génétique médico-légale ;

La recenseuse Miranda Henderson revient sur le mémoire de Gracia Younes (2025), *They Made a Monster* (Ils ont créé le monstre), qui relate six années éprouvantes de confinement dans le système de protection de la jeunesse du Québec, et met également en lumière une récente anthologie du criminologue Dr Ezzat Fattah ;

Dans *Twists and Turns*, l'expert Doug Heckbert raconte comment deux personnes anciennement incarcérées à Edmonton ont transformé leurs traumatismes et leurs dépendances en vies de sens et d'engagement ;

Enfin, Robert (Bob) Christmas montre comment l'équipe de sécurité communautaire de Winnipeg renforce la sécurité publique et l'appui social.

Nous vous souhaitons une agréable lecture, une période des Fêtes paisible et une nouvelle année heureuse et en santé.

CCJA SERIES ACJP 2025

AFFILIATES • PARTENAIRES



British Columbia Criminal Justice Association



Alberta Criminal
Justice Association



University
of Regina

The Collaborative Centre for Justice and Safety
AN INITIATIVE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF REGINA OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT
(RESEARCH)

NS Criminal Justice  Association



MANITOBA CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION DE JUSTICE PÉNALE DU MANITOBA



New Brunswick -
Prince Edward Island
Criminal Justice
Association

PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATIONS, CCJA AFFILIATES & PARTNERS

The CCJA has affiliates in most Canadian provinces, is a founder and member of NAACJ (National Associations Active in Criminal Justice) and enjoys a strong working relationship with the Société de criminologie du Québec. CCJA also holds official affiliation agreements with ACA (American Correctional Association), ACJS (Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences) and ICPA (International Corrections and Prisons Association). Contact the Association in your province, and get involved!

ASSOCIATIONS PROVINCIALES, AFFILIÉES ET PARTENAIRES DE L'ACJP

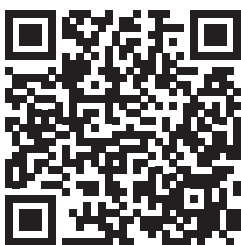
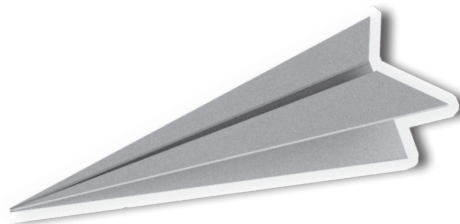
L'ACJP compte des associations affiliées dans la plupart des provinces canadiennes. Elle est membre fondatrice du NAACJ (National Associations Active in Criminal Justice) et entretient une collaboration étroite avec la Société de criminologie du Québec. Elle est également liée par des accords d'affiliation officiels avec l'ACA (American Correctional Association), l'ACJS (Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences) et l'ICPA (International Corrections and Prisons Association). Contactez l'Association de votre province, et engagez-vous !



News & Policy Update

Stay up to date with criminal justice in Canada and get all the latest news straight to your inbox!

Did you know that the CCJA has a newsletter? With news articles, policy updates and the CCJA's latest, our News and Policy Update is a great way to stay in the loop.



Sign up for free at:
ccja-acjp.ca/pub/en/join-our-newsletter/



Coming in 2026, Volume 41 – Issues 1 & 2

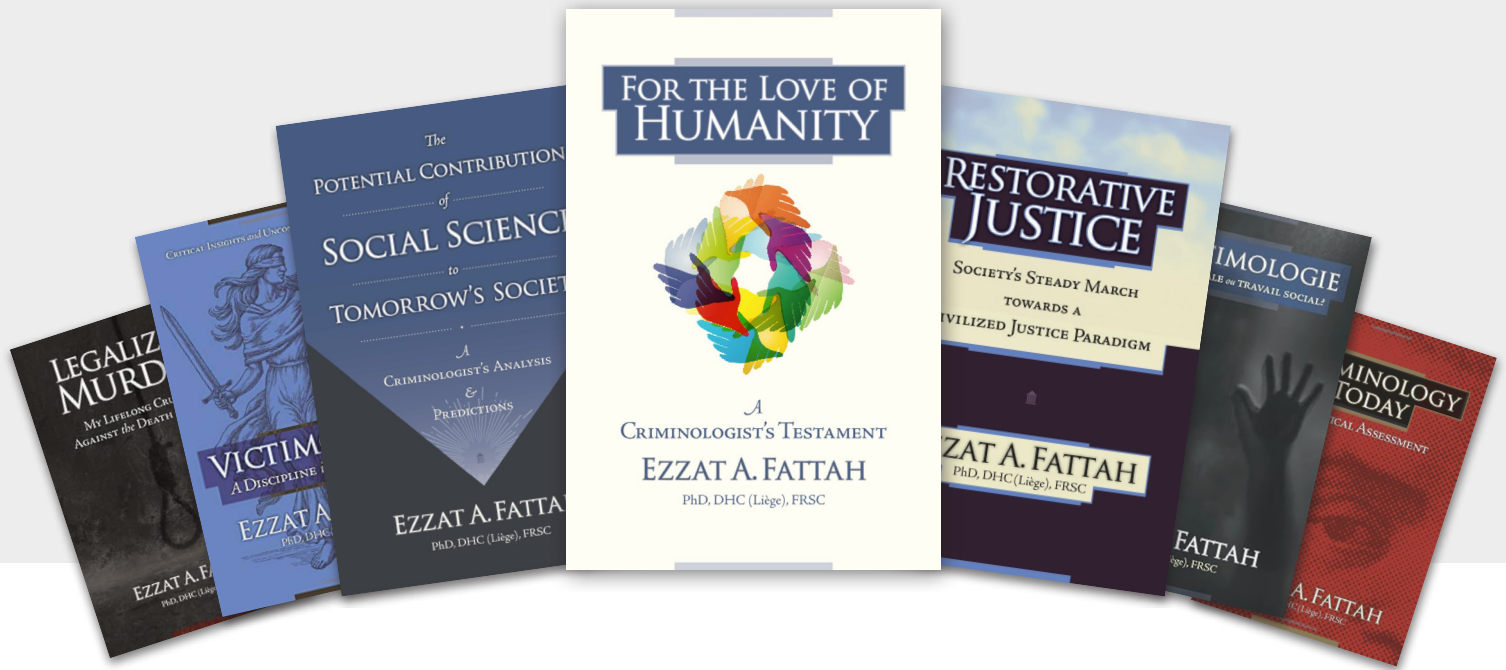
Double Special Issue of the *Justice Report*

Guest Editors

Dani Kouri and Michel Gagnon

In 1976, Canada formally abolished the death penalty, replacing it with mandatory life sentences. Half a century later, what has been the real cost of this shift — on individuals, families, and entire communities?

The *Justice Report* is proud to announce that its first two issues of 2026 will form a double special issue, bringing together perspectives from individuals with lived experience, community advocates, scholars, and frontline workers. The contributing authors and artists explore the human, legal, and societal impacts of this sentencing regime and offer visions for how Canada might reimagine a more just, effective, and hopeful future.



Special feature coming up in 41.3 (2026)

CCJA INTERVIEW WITH EZZAT

Interview date — November 2025 | Publication date — July 2026

Dr. Ezzat A. Fattah, Professor Emeritus and founder of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University (Burnaby, BC), has been writing and publishing since the 1960s. He is an internationally recognized criminologist and victimologist (PhD, Université de Montréal), long-standing critic of retributive justice, early and influential opponent of the death penalty, advocate for restorative justice, and abolitionist critic of prisons and broader penal systems—including the reduction or elimination of punitive institutions and the modernization of criminal law.

In the upcoming CCJA Interview, Dr. Fattah reflects on his life's work and responds to six timely questions on justice reform.



Book Review by Miranda Henderson¹ of *They Made a Monster* by Gracia Younes

Quebec: Self-published (Gracia Younes). 2025. 227 p. Hardcover and Kindle available at Amazon.ca

MIRANDA HENDERSON

They Made a Monster is a poignant and beautifully written memoir by Gracia Younes, an anti-human trafficking consultant, steering committee member of VoiceFound, and secretary of Canada's G100 Anti-Human Trafficking Wing. The book focuses on Younes' life from age 13 to a few months before her 18th birthday, when she spent six years under the Director of Youth Protection (DPJ) in Québec (most of it in the *Centre de protection de l'enfance et de la jeunesse de Laval*) after reporting being raped.

The book tackles the severe neglect and abuses she suffered from both society and the justice system (despite having no criminal charges or record), as well as her other experiences with institutional abuse, sex trafficking, homelessness, illness, and addiction. It would be inaccurate to say Gracia's memoir is eye-opening; it pulls back the wool woven by institutions that we willingly place over our eyes to avoid facing the issues rife within the current justice system. *They Made a Monster* does an exceptional job of highlighting how issues in our justice system and society can lead (or in many cases force) people to become 'monsters' to survive monstrous circumstances.

One of the memoir's greatest strengths is the way it is written. Younes writes about the suffering she experienced not only physically with abuse, addiction, and sex trafficking, but mentally and emotionally in what she aptly calls the DPJ's

"slaughterhouse of souls." Younes points out how we often use cold and stiff terminology, such as organized crime, to draw the emotion out of serious topics and separate ourselves from their innate horror and the harm they cause.

Her memoir is the complete opposite; every line paints a full and descriptive picture of the depravity and injustice Younes suffered while at the DPJ centre in Laval and when on the run. Younes is highly descriptive and blunt about the reality she lived through, while weaving in figurative language in a way that illustrates the immense impact the events had (and still have) on her, eliciting an immense emotional response from the reader.

Younes' story is given complete form in how she shades the darkness of what she experienced with moments of light: the love she has for her sister and family, her desire to help others, the help she received from her runaway buddy, and the kindness she saw shared between people in Lebanon are but a few examples. It is impossible to fully grasp the weight of her experiences without having lived them, but the details and emotion in the book seep out, cracking open a window into her world.

At certain points as Younes narrates her story, she confides in the reader about how difficult it was for her to write about the darkest parts of her experiences. This not only highlights the lifelong

1. The reviewer, Miranda Henderson, holds a BA in Criminal Justice from Mount Royal University (Calgary, AB): 2mirahenderson@gmail.com

impact and harm of the abuse she suffered, but pulls the reader even more deeply into the story; it almost feels like you are in the room with her as she writes. It also helps give the reader a natural break during the most disturbing parts of Younes' story without undercutting the emotional impact.

While this memoir doesn't directly address criminological theories, many of the injustices Younes experienced can be contextualized by **labelling theory**. Labelling theory holds that labels shape how individuals are viewed, treated, and how they perceive themselves and act.

At age 12, Younes' induction into the DPJ came from her being labelled as vulnerable for being raped and deviant for running away; from the outset she was seen as a problem to solve rather than a child who needed help.

This deviant label led to her every action (deviant or compliant) being twisted by DPJ staff. Compliance became avoidance of problems, emotion became vulnerability, and rebellion (the staff's view of her resistance to unfair and unethical treatment) "justified" their abuse. Younes' experience also highlights how the justice system can create a self-fulfilling prophecy. Staff in the DPJ labelled Younes as deviant, so they treated even innocuous actions as harmful and enforced strict rules.

This drove Younes to run away, reinforcing her deviant label in staff's eyes and prompting even further restrictions. This not only failed to address her trauma, but added to it—precipitating her induction into sex trafficking as a desperate means of gaining autonomy.

Younes' memoir highlights the need for effective, genuinely implemented programs that can help victims rather than using them as window dressings. The DPJ may have made reports touting their trauma-informed care, but such care was clearly absent in practice. The book also stresses the need to ensure staff act ethically and from the right mindset. When formality takes precedence over responsibility and staff protect their jobs rather than victims, abuse can proliferate.

It cannot be claimed workers in the DPJ simply 'did not know better' or that Younes experiences were an outlier; Younes chillingly recounts how an educator stated that four out of five girls who entered the Centre for minor family conflicts ended up in the hands of human traffickers. Institutional neglect and indifference can trap vulnerable people in cycles of exploitation.

I recommend this memoir to anyone, though, as Younes notes in her opening content warning, readers should be prepared for the harrowing themes. The writing is clear, straightforward and accessible to readers regardless of prior knowledge of the justice system, however, its subject matter is best suited to an adult audience (ironically, given that she suffered these injustices as a child).

Gracia Younes' *They Made a Monster* has the potential to help improve many of the policies that Younes suffered from in her childhood, but it also has relevance beyond the realm of criminal justice. Younes' resilience and kindness in the face of everything she experienced are incredibly motivational. As difficult as it is to come to terms with what happened to Younes and our own role in it, we must face it to bring about meaningful change. As Younes says, knowledge is both a burden and a weapon, one we can hopefully use to carve out a better future and protect victims.

RÉSUMÉ

Book Review by Miranda Henderson of *They Made a Monster* by Gracia Younes

MIRANDA HENDERSON

Dans *They Made a Monster* (Ils ont créé le monstre, Younes, 2025), l'experte et militante contre la traite des personnes Gracia Younes met en lumière les conséquences dévastatrices de la trahison institutionnelle et de la négligence systémique au sein du système québécois de protection de la jeunesse. Dans sa critique de ce puissant mémoire, Miranda Henderson relate les six années d'internement de Younes au DPJ de Laval (Direction de la protection de la jeunesse) — internement que ses parents, pauvres mais dévoués, ont dû payer — après qu'elle eut été placée dans l'unité des jeunes contrevenants sans avoir commis le moindre crime. Gracia Younes décrit des conditions d'une barbarie inouïe et conclut que ce récit appelle des systèmes de protection réellement bienveillants, une reddition de comptes institutionnelle, et le courage collectif d'affronter la complicité qui permet à de tels abus de perdurer.

The Criminalization of Youth in Canada: A Call to Raise the Minimum Age of Criminal Responsibility

BRENDA KOBAYASHI (PHD)

Assistant Professor of Sociology at Western University, Ontario

In this article, Brenda Kobayashi critiques Canada's Minimum Age of Criminal Responsibility (MACR), set at 12—below international standards, inconsistent with developmental research, and at odds with other legal thresholds such as driving, drinking, or living independently. The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child urges states not to set the age under 14, while some countries have adopted 15. Kobayashi argues that keeping Canada's MACR at 12 has serious consequences: in 2022/23, Indigenous youth accounted for nearly half of youth custody admissions but only 8% of the youth population. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission called for this overrepresentation to end, yet it has worsened. Punitive approaches persist, reinforced by “tough on crime” rhetoric and policy. Brenda Kobayashi argues that Canada must act decisively by raising the MACR to 15.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian law recognizes that young people have heightened vulnerability, less maturity, and a reduced capacity for moral judgment due to their age and stage of development. Yet youth justice practices often fail to reflect this understanding. Canada's current minimum age of criminal responsibility¹ (MACR) is 12, well below the minimum recommended by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC Committee, 2019). The Committee “encourages States parties to increase their minimum age... to at least 14,” notes that 12 is the absolute minimum, “commends” those setting it higher (15 or 16), and—reflecting Article 41 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)—“urges” States parties never to lower their established age. Setting Canada's MACR at 15 would bring it in line with developmental research and with the Committee's position that 12- to 14-year-olds lack the maturity for full criminal responsibility.

Keeping the MACR at 12 has profound real-world consequences. In 2022–23, Indigenous youth made up nearly half of youth admissions to custody while representing only about 8% of the Canadian youth population. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action (2015) explicitly called for governments to eliminate this overrepresentation, yet it has only increased in the years since.² At the same time, political rhetoric about “tough on crime” youth policies have resurfaced, fuelled by media attention to rare but shocking violent cases.³ Related to this, the Crown may also seek adult sentences for youth in certain cases—an important but separate issue that, unfortunately, is beyond the scope of this article.

Setting the threshold at 15 would reduce the exposure of children to the still-adversarial elements of the youth justice process, despite the YCJA's emphasis on rehabilitation and diversion. It would

1. MACR is defined as the minimum age below which the law determines that children are presumed not to have the capacity to infringe the criminal law (UN-CRC, 2019).

2. In 2014–15, Indigenous youth accounted for approximately 37% of provincial/territorial youth custody admissions (while representing about 7–8% of the youth population); by 2022–23, that figure rose to 46%, highlighting a worsening disparity.

3. Youth Criminal Justice Act, S.C. 2002, c. 1, ss. 64–72.

also reinforce the Act's rehabilitative intent and carry particular importance for Indigenous youth, who remain disproportionately drawn into the system. After all, age, as proposed by Haysom (2022), is a strong effect-modifier on the relationship between Indigenous status and custodial sentences — showing how a low MACR unfairly discriminates against Indigenous children and youth in particular.

LEGAL AGE THRESHOLDS AND THE TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD

In many countries the law plays a key role in mediating an individual's transition from "childhood" to "adulthood," with their rights and responsibilities accumulating incrementally with age (Goldson, 2013). In Canada, this incremental approach to individuation produces contradictions. For example, youth are barred from purchasing, possessing, or consuming alcohol, or from driving unsupervised, on the grounds they lack the maturity and judgement to manage the associated risks safely. Yet, the guiding legislation in Canada, the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (YCJA), presumes that young people, at the age of 12 years, have the ability to form the cognitive and moral judgements required for criminal responsibility.

The legislative minimum age of criminal responsibility (MACR) demonstrates a lack of consistency and may be considered arbitrary from a policy perspective, particularly when examined in relation to the legal age thresholds established not only for alcohol consumption but for driving, entering into contractual agreements, or living independently, among others. The minimum legal drinking age (MLDA) in most provinces is 19, except Alberta, Manitoba, and Quebec where it is 18. The MLDA aligns with the jurisdictional age of majority, when young people gain additional societal rights such as voting, entering financial contracts, and enlisting in the military.

In most provinces and territories in Canada, youth must be at least 16 years old to apply for a car or motorcycle learner's permit. Research has shown that youth are at a heightened risk for motor vehicle accidents due to factors such as risky driving behaviour, alcohol and other drug use, failure to wear seatbelts, driver distraction, fatigue, and vehicle

type (Ferguson, 2003). Canada's graduated driver licencing (GDL) system was legislated in the 1990s, implemented provincially with federal support, and involves requirements such as supervised driving, restrictions on night-time driving, and limits on driving with teenage passengers in the car (Traffic Injury Research Foundation, 2025).

Legal age limits for driving and alcohol use are predicated on the understanding that once a young person reaches the age of 16 and 18/19, respectively, they possess a sufficient level of maturity, cognitive and psychosocial development to assess risks, regulate behaviour, and distinguish right from wrong (Goldson, 2013). Such restrictions are supported by research showing that children develop the capacity to understand the consequences of their actions gradually over adolescence and early adulthood (Shulman et al., 2016; Ransley et al., 2024).

By contrast, Canada's MACR remains at 12, treating children who are well below the legal age to drink alcohol, live independently, enter into legal agreements, or even drive with supervision as though they have a developmental capacity to be criminally responsible for their actions. From a policy perspective, this assumption is inconsistent with a substantial body of research demonstrating that psychosocial maturity develops progressively across adolescence and into the mid-20s.

Developmental research in Canada and internationally confirms that those under 15 generally lack the psychosocial maturity, impulse control, and foresight required for full criminal responsibility. Canadian jurisprudence and professional associations echo this conclusion (Canadian Psychological Association, 2017; Canadian Bar Association, 2016; *R. v. D.B.*, 2008 SCC 25). In *R. v. D.B.* (2008), the Supreme Court of Canada affirmed that the presumption of diminished moral culpability for young people is a fundamental principle of justice.

Moreover, empirical evidence highlights the detrimental consequences of criminal justice involvement for children. Cauffman et al. (2023) found that children and youth formally sanctioned by the justice system were more likely to reoffend and be rearrested. Their study also showed

links between justice system contact and poor psychosocial and academic outcomes. Further, research suggests that involvement with the justice system may reinforce delinquent behaviour, in part due to the criminogenic effects of labelling young people as offenders (Motz et al., 2020; Ransley et al., 2024).

Canadian research echoes these findings: youth in correctional facilities show significantly higher rates of reoffending and continued system contact than comparable peers, underscoring the reinforcing effect of custodial sentences (Department of Justice, 2020). These harms are not evenly distributed: Indigenous youth, in particular, remain vastly overrepresented in Canada's criminal justice system, a reality that magnifies the consequences of an unusually low MACR.

Canada's MACR also conflicts with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which defines a child as anyone under the age of 18.⁴ In its 2019 General Comment No. 24, the UN Committee recommended that countries establish a minimum age of criminal responsibility at no lower than 14, noting that 14 is the most common internationally (para. 33) and commending countries having higher rates. Raising the MACR to 15 would therefore align Canada with the UN Committee recommendations and place it above the minimum international standard.

This raises a critical question: Why does the federal government deem youth too immature at age 12 to engage in activities such as alcohol consumption or unsupervised driving, among many others, yet mature enough to be held criminally responsible? This contradiction calls for a closer look at how youth crime is politicized and sheds light on the processes by which young people are criminalized.

THE MEDIA, PUBLIC PERCEPTION, AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF YOUTH

Criminal justice is one of the many social issues that attract public attention. Since the 1990s public concern over youth crime has surged, particularly

violent crime. Much of this rise was driven by news outlets amplifying rare violent cases rather than reporting on actual crime data (Newburn, 2002). In Canada, youth violent crime rates did spike in the early 1990s (Statistics Canada, 2016), a trend that helped prompt the federal government to replace the *Young Offenders Act* (1984) with the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (2003). From 2022 to 2023, youth crime rates increased with violent offences accounting for roughly one-quarter of all police-reported youth crimes, driven by higher rates of assault, robbery, sexual offences, and firearm-related incidents (Justice Canada, 2025). Similarly, the Youth Non-Violent CSI saw an increase between 2022 to 2023 which was attributed to increases in motor vehicle theft, fraud, and breaking and entering (Justice Canada, 2025). Although both the youth crime rate and the Youth CSI increased from 2022 to 2023, they remain lower than pre-pandemic levels (Justice Canada, 2025).

Cases such as the abduction and murder of James Bulger in the United Kingdom by two young males, the assault and killing of Reena Virk by a group of youths, the fatal assault of Sebastian Lacasse in Quebec, and the June 2025 case of a 17-year-old charged in Quadeville, Ontario, with attempted murder and sexual assault in the attack on an eight-year-old girl are examples of “cultural flashpoints”.⁵ These cases, although horrific, are rare, isolated incidents in what Innes (2004) refers to as “signal crimes”. Signal crimes are criminal incidents that shape the public's perceptions of risk, security, and hazards. Such cases often “signal” to the public that youth crime, particularly violent youth crime, is on the rise and that this generation of youth are capable of horrific crimes. It is these single cases, particularly crimes of violence, that have more of an impact on the collective's understanding of crime and disorder (Innes, 2004). They “signal” that youth violence is escalating, even when the evidence shows otherwise. The result is a constructed narrative that violence is pervasive among youth, which resonates with the public and politicians and may lead to more intrusive, punitive responses.

4. Note: United Nations demographic agencies, including UNESCO and UNDESA, often use “youth” to refer to those Aged 15–24. This is a statistical category used for population reporting, not a legal definition, and it does not form part of CRC guidance.

5. Hanafin et al. (2023, p. 698) define a cultural flashpoint as “a domain-specific cultural matter which causes controversy, such that the domain-specific matter becomes part of a broader societal discourse, capturing current cultural anxieties, discontents and unease, particularly at critical moments of social change.”

The public's perceptions of criminogenic risk that fuel fear-driven, punitive policy responses, however, are not grounded in empirical evidence. When young people come in conflict with the law, they are most often involved in relatively minor offences such as mischief, theft under \$5000, common assault, cannabis possession, and administration-of-justice violations (e.g., failure to appear in court and breach of probation). Violent crimes represent a smaller fraction of youth offences (Allen and Superle, 2016; Justice Canada, 2025).

When news outlets sensationalize violent cases, it sends a message to the public that something new and particularly malevolent is afoot, suggesting that youth are generally becoming more violent and out of control (Newburn, 2002). A strong consensus emerges among members of the public and politicians that something must be done — youth justice legislation and the courts must “toughen up” to prevent crime.

While not all youth accused of violent and non-violent offences have prior records, Canadian research shows that those with earlier justice involvement are far more likely to reoffend. Repeat and persistent offending are strongly associated with a history of prior contact or charges and early onset or multiple prior convictions (Cauffman, 2023; Department of Justice, 2020; Motz et al., 2020; Ransley et al., 2024).

This alone is a sign that holding children criminally responsible is an irresponsible policy. The impact of youth criminalization through involvement and their treatment by the penal system is far more visible among Indigenous youth (Kelly 2024; Esfahani & Tranchant 2023; Statistics Canada 2024).

CONSEQUENCES OF YOUTH CRIMINALIZATION

Indigenous youth continue to receive the harshest penalties compared with non-Indigenous youth. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action (2015) called upon “the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments

to commit to eliminating the overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in custody over the next decade” (Call to Action 38). Yet the pattern has worsened for Indigenous youth and remains a defining feature of Canada's criminal justice system (Jackson, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2024).

In Canada, higher rates of incarceration for Indigenous peoples generally have been linked to socioeconomic disadvantages, substance abuse, and intergenerational loss, violence, and trauma, as well as systemic discrimination and prejudicial attitudes within the criminal justice system (Brittain & Blackstock, 2015; Schissel, 2010; Milward, 2022). Indigenous youth aged 12-17 are staggeringly overrepresented in custody. Recent data show the extent of this crisis: in 2022-2023, Indigenous youth accounted for 40% of youth admissions to provincial/territorial correctional services despite representing only 8% of Canada's youth population in 2021 (Statistics Canada 2024).⁶ The overrepresentation was most pronounced in custody (46%), followed by community supervision (37%) in the reporting jurisdictions.⁷ In an earlier reporting year, 2017-2018, Indigenous youth accounted for 48% of custody admissions across nine jurisdictions (Statistics Canada, 2018), underscoring the importance of this imbalance over time.

Female Indigenous youth were especially overrepresented, accounting for 55% of female youth custody admissions in 2022-2023 (51% pretrial detention, 70% secure custody, 76% open custody, and 95% provincial director remand). Indigenous males accounted for 44% of male youth custody admissions (43% pretrial detention, 45% secure custody, 53% open custody, and 73% provincial director remand) (Statistics Canada, 2024).

In addition, Indigenous youth are disproportionately sentenced to probation, increasingly held in remand custody and detained for longer periods of time than non-Indigenous youth (Jackson, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2024). These data call attention both to the salience of risk factors associated with their increased likelihood of encountering the law and

⁶ Statistics Canada reports “admissions” to correctional services, which refers to the number of times youth enter custody or community supervision during the year. This is not the same as the average daily count of youth in custody at a given time, which is typically lower but still shows significant Indigenous overrepresentation.

⁷ Data for Quebec and PEI were not available.

their differential evaluation and treatment as they are processed through the system (David & Mitchell, 2021; Robinson et al. 2023).

CONCLUSION

Canada's youth justice system is at a crossroad. While legal standards acknowledge that youth have distinct developmental needs and a reduced capacity for full moral and cognitive judgment, this is not reflected in prevailing practices—especially the criminalization of 12- to 14-year-olds. Research consistently shows that early induction into the criminal justice system can itself be a criminogenic risk factor, increasing the likelihood of future offending rather than deterring it.

This inconsistency is further compounded by political rhetoric fueled by media sensationalism and favouring punitive, law-and-order policies, which not only undermine evidence-based approaches but also risk deepening existing societal divisions and undermining progressive reform. Other related issues, such as the adult sentencing of youth, are beyond the scope of this article but warrant further analysis.

Raising Canada's MACR from 12 to 15 is a necessary step toward a justice system that reflects its own principles of diversion and rehabilitation, while aligning with developmental research and empirical evidence on the harms of early system contact. Crucially, it is also a step toward reducing the disproportionate criminalization of Indigenous youth – and outcome directly tied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action (2015), which urged all levels of government to eliminate the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in custody within a decade. Nearly ten years later, that goal remains unmet. Elevating the MACR to age 15 would therefore represent not only compliance with international human rights standards, but also a tangible measure of Canada's commitment to reconciliation and to ending a cycle of criminalization that the TRC identified as both systemic and preventable.

References

- Allen, M. K. & Superle, T. (2016). Youth crime in Canada, 2014. Juristat.
- Brittain, M. & Blackstock, C. (2015). First Nations child poverty: A literature review and analysis. Ottawa, ON: First Nation Children's Action Research and Education Service.
- Callaghan, R. C., Sanches, M., Gatley, J. M. and Stockwell, T. (2014). Impacts of drinking-age laws on mortality in Canada, 1980-2009. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 138, pp. 137-145.
- Cauffman, E., Gillespie, M. L., Beardslee, J., Davis, F. Hernandez, M. & Williams, T.E. (2023). Adolescent contact, lasting impact? Lessons learned from two longitudinal studies spanning 20 years of developmental science research with justice-system-involved youths. *Association for Psychological Science* 24(3): 133-161.
- David, J.-D. and Mitchell, M. (2021). Contacts with the police and the over-representation of Indigenous Peoples in the Canadian criminal justice system. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 63(2): 23-45.
- Department of Justice (2020). Just facts (Research and Statistics Division). Recidivism in the Criminal Justice System. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2020/docs/aug01.pdf>
- Department of Justice Canada (2024). Just facts (Research and Statistics Division). https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2024/pdf/rsd_jf2024_indigenous-overrepresentation_eng.pdf
- Department of Justice (2025). Just facts (Research and Statistics Division). Police-reported youth crime statistics in Canada, 2023. https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2025/pdf/rsd_jf2025_Police-reported-Youth-Crime-2023-en.pdf
- Esfahani, H.E. & Tranchant, C. C. (2023). Juvenile custody in Canada: Legal policy and current context. *Prison Service Journal*, 267, pp. 4-11.
- Ferguson, S.A. (2003). Other high-risk factors for young drivers – how graduated licensing does, doesn't, or could address them. *Journal of Safety Research* 34(1): 71-77.
- Goldson B. (2013) Unsafe, unjust and harmful to wider society: Grounds for raising the age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales. *Youth Justice* 13(2): 111–130.
- Haysom, L. (2022) Raising the minimum age of criminal responsibility to 14 years. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health* 58(9): 1504-1507.
- Innes, M. (2004). "Signal crimes and signal disorders: notes on deviance as communicative action." *The British Journal of Sociology* 55(3): 335-336.
- Jackson, N. (2015) Aboriginal Youth Overrepresentation in Canadian correctional services: Judicial and non-judicial actors and influence. *Alberta Law Review* 52(4): 927-946.
- Kelly, J.B. (2024) *Constraining the Court: Judicial power and policy implementation in the Charter Era.*: Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Milward, D. (2022) *Reconciliation & Indigenous justice: A search for ways forward.* Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Motz, R.T., Barnes, J.C., Caspi, A., Arseneault, L., Cullen, F. T., Houts, R., Wertz, J., Moffitt, T. E. (2020). Does contact with the justice system deter or promote future delinquency? Results from a longitudinal study of British adolescent twins. *Criminology* 58(2): 307-335.
- Newburn, T. (2002). Young people, crime, and youth justice. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan, & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of criminology* (3rd ed., pp. 531–578). Oxford University Press.
- Pfefferle, B. R. (2008) Gladue sentencing: uneasy answers to the hard problem of Aboriginal over-incarceration: *Manitoba Law Journal* 32(2): 113-143.
- R v DB (2008) 2 S.C.R. 3, 2008 SCC25
- Ransley, T.R., McGee, R.L, Thompson, C. & Williams, C. (2024) A review of arguments for raising the age of criminal responsibility. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 36(4): 369-385.
- Robinson, L., Parent-Long, B. & Coyes-Loiselle, L. (2023) Indigenous youth and international development: A decolonial analysis of Canada's International Aboriginal Youth Internship programme. *Gender & Development* 31(4): 683-703.
- Schissel, B. (2010). Ill health and discrimination: The double jeopardy for youth in punitive justice systems. *International Journal of Child, Youth & Family Studies* 1(2): 157-178.
- Shulman, E.P. Smith, A. R., Silva, K., Icenogle, G., Duell, N. Chein, J. & Steinberg, L. (2016). The dual systems model: Review, reappraisal, and reaffirmation. *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* 17, pp. 103-117.
- Traffic Injury Research Foundation (2025). Young and New Driver Resource Center: Graduated driver licensing. <https://yndrc.tirf.ca/gdl/index.php>
- United Nations. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. United Nations Treaty Series, 1577, 3. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child>
- United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. (2019). General Comment No. 24 (2019) on children's rights in the child justice system (CRC/C/GC/24). United Nations. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3899429?v=pdf>
- Youth Criminal Justice Act, S.C. 2002, c. 1. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/y-1.5/>

RÉSUMÉ

The Criminalization of Youth in Canada: A Call to Raise the Minimum Age of Criminal Responsibility

BRENDA KOBAYASHI

Professeure adjointe (sociologie), Université Western

Brenda Kobayashi critique ici l'âge minimal de la responsabilité criminelle (AMRC) au Canada, fixé à 12 ans — bien en deçà des normes internationales, contraire aux recherches sur le développement et en décalage avec d'autres seuils juridiques comme la conduite, la consommation d'alcool ou l'autonomie légale. Le Comité des droits de l'enfant de l'ONU recommande de ne pas fixer l'AMRC à moins de 14 ans, et plusieurs pays l'ont portée à 15 ou 16. Maintenir ce seuil à 12 ans a de graves conséquences : en 2022-2023, les jeunes Autochtones représentaient près de la moitié des admissions en détention, tout en formant seulement 8 % de la population juvénile. Malgré les appels de la Commission de vérité et réconciliation, cette surreprésentation ne cesse de s'aggraver. Alimentée par la rhétorique de la répression de la criminalité, l'approche punitive persiste. Kobayashi affirme que le Canada doit agir résolument en relevant l'AMRC à 15 ans.



Winnipeg's Community Safety Team: Compassionate Service Improving Public Safety

ROBERT (BOB) CHRISMAS (PHD)

Winnipeg's Community Safety Team (CST) has significantly improved public safety and support for vulnerable populations since its formation in early 2024. Employing a compassionate, trauma-informed approach, fostering diverse partnerships, and prioritizing equity and cultural competency, the CST has enhanced community trust and reduced strain on emergency services. Their work within Winnipeg Transit has become a model for integrated public safety with ongoing initiatives that aim to expand their successful practices to other city spaces, ensuring holistic, inclusive support for all citizens.

As in most Canadian cities, the scourge of poverty had exacerbated a growing crisis of addictions and mental health care. Out of desperation, people had moved into encampments and the public transit system as accessible refuges from the harsh prairie elements.

In response, Winnipeg launched its Community Safety Team (CST) in late fall of 2023, building a much-needed tier in the public safety system. Since then, the CST has stayed the course, guided by its stated vision of protecting public safety while supporting vulnerable residents in urgent need. The team has moved the needle substantially on several social justice scales – improving the overall sense of safety for citizens and assisting disenfranchised people through trauma-informed, compassionate approaches that protect everyone's dignity.

To date, the team has intervened in thousands of public disturbances and assaults ranging from minor disruptions to serious assaults and weapons offences. The safety officers are trained and equipped for trauma care and are credited with saving at least 30 lives through their medical intervention.

IMPACT ON PUBLIC SAFETY AND TRUST

Since its establishment, the CST has fostered stronger relationships between community members and local services, helping to bridge gaps in support for vulnerable populations. The team's



CREDIT: BOB CHRISMAS

Bob Christmas, MPA (2009), PhD (2017) served over four decades in various law enforcement roles in Manitoba, including 34 years with the Winnipeg Police Service. In 2023 he was selected to establish Winnipeg's new Community Safety Team. Bob has long been a major contributor to the *Justice Report* and was awarded the 2024 CCJA Crime Prevention Award. He has over 60 publications including six books, all meant to influence social awareness and positive change. Learn more about Bob's work at BChristmas.com

proactive approach has led to improved outcomes for individuals struggling with addiction and mental health challenges, while also easing demand on emergency services.

Transit operators and the riding public have reported a greater sense of safety and trust, underscoring the positive change brought about by the CST's efforts. Citizens openly express their relief and appreciation each day when they see the team on patrol. In 2025, City Council increased the staff complement in its multi-year budget, from the initial total of 26 to 41. Currently, there are 26 safety officers, six supervisors, two support staff and one team lead. In 2027, safety officer positions will increase by 6 to a total of 32.

BEYOND ENFORCEMENT A SUPPORT-BASED MODEL

The CST's work extends beyond immediate crisis intervention; it also includes ongoing follow-up and collaboration with social agencies, healthcare providers, and housing services to help direct individuals in need toward long-term support. By focusing on prevention and proactive engagement, the team plays a pivotal role in reducing the number of incidents that might otherwise escalate to require a police or paramedic response. Their efforts have become a model of integrated community safety practices for cities across the country.

COMMITMENT TO EQUITY AND CULTURAL RELEVANCE

The CST has also prioritized cultural competency and Indigenous engagement, recognizing Winnipeg's diverse population and the unique needs of its communities. Through partnerships with Indigenous Elders and diverse organizations, the team has implemented culturally relevant support and guidance, fostering trust and strengthening its outreach. In turn, this deepens the team's understanding of the vulnerable populations it seeks to help and reinforces its efforts to ensure a safe and welcoming Transit environment for Winnipeggers and visitors.

These initiatives have further enhanced the CST's reputation as a responsive and inclusive public safety resource. The power and strength of diversity have been realized by the team, as it is one of the most inclusive workgroups in the city. It is diverse in age, gender, culture and professional backgrounds, boasting an emphasis on compassionate care whether the safety officers come from social-work or law enforcement backgrounds.

This commitment to equity is reflected not only in their hiring practices but also in their daily operations and training programs, which emphasize culturally sensitive frameworks, active listening and de-escalation. The CST continues to adapt its methods based on ongoing feedback from the communities it serves, making sure that its approach remains relevant and effective in addressing the complexities of urban safety and social wellness in Winnipeg.

Looking ahead, the CST is exploring innovative partnerships and technological solutions to further enhance its impact. Initiatives such as mobile outreach units and real-time data sharing are being developed to increase responsiveness and improve coordination among service providers. As Winnipeg continues to evolve, CST's adaptability and commitment to continuous improvement remain central to its mission of creating a safer, more inclusive community for all residents.

TOWARD A CITY-WIDE MODEL OF SAFETY AND CARE

The team's current commitment is within Winnipeg Transit, up to 500 buses that are in operation on any day, and hundreds of Transit shelters, many of which have been sporadically occupied by unsheltered people for years. In addition to Winnipeg Transit, there are ongoing discussions about how CST's proven approach might be scaled up or adapted for use in other municipal settings, including other public spaces, encampments throughout the city, libraries and recreation facilities. By leveraging the experience gained within Transit, the team is well-positioned to support broader efforts aimed at creating safe and welcoming environments in all public spaces. This potential expansion reflects the City's commitment to holistic solutions that address the root causes of vulnerability and promote community wellbeing.

LAYING GROUNDWORK FOR THE FUTURE

Today's frontline service work carries a high risk of trauma and moral injury. The CST office was configured with a large sharing circle where the team briefs and debriefs daily, emphasizing its focus on mental health support for members. This daily sharing allows the team to learn together and



Winnipeg's CST Sharing Circle
PHOTO CREDIT: ROBERT (BOB) CHRISMAS

unpack the thousand microtraumas of the work.

Public response to the CST's initiatives has been positive, with many community members expressing appreciation for the respectful and non-confrontational presence of safety officers. Stakeholders across the city, including community-based organizations and local businesses, have noted the reduction in disruptive incidents and an increase in collaborative problem-solving. These outcomes underscore the value of a community-focused model that prioritizes dignity and trauma-informed engagement, driven by compassion. This team is laying the groundwork for future enhancements to public safety strategies throughout Winnipeg and beyond.

RÉSUMÉ

Winnipeg's Community Safety Team: Compassionate Service Improving Public Safety

ROBERT (BOB) CHRISMAS

Depuis sa création au début de 2024, l'équipe de sécurité communautaire de Winnipeg (CST) a nettement amélioré la sécurité publique et le soutien aux populations vulnérables. Misant sur une approche compatissante fondée sur la reconnaissance des traumatismes, sur des partenariats diversifiés et sur l'équité et la compétence culturelle, la CST a accru la confiance de la communauté et allégé la pression sur les services d'urgence. Leur travail au sein du réseau de transport en commun est devenu un modèle de sécurité publique intégrée, avec des initiatives visant à étendre ces pratiques à d'autres espaces urbains pour un soutien inclusif à tous.

Evidence Without Exposure: Making the Case for Anonymized, Cross-Sectoral Justice Data in Canada

ÉMILIE CHRISTOPHER (MA)

Nova Scotia

Canada's federal justice system faces a critical evidence gap: data remain fragmented across provinces, correctional institutions, and social sectors, undermining efforts to evaluate what works. In this article, Émilie Christopher (MA, Nova Scotia) argues that de-identified (anonymous) databases—linking justice, health, education, and socio-economic data systems—offer a powerful solution. These databases protect privacy while enabling rigorous, long-term analysis. Existing tools such as the Integrated Correctional Services Survey (ICSS), the Justice Data Modernization Initiative (JDMI), and the Criminal Justice Relational Database (CJRD) have laid the essential groundwork, yet many justice-relevant databanks (i.e., collections of linked datasets) remain unlinked. Without integration, opportunities for early intervention, equitable evaluation, and more effective correctional programming are lost. Christopher argues that anonymized datasets can bridge this divide, providing the evidence infrastructure needed to build a more transparent, accountable, and effective justice system in Canada.

INTRODUCTION: WHY ANONYMOUS DATA MATTERS IN JUSTICE REFORM

Canada's criminal justice system stands at a crossroads, under increasing demands to become more equitable, transparent, and evidence based. The persistent overrepresentation of Indigenous, Black, and racialized people; the high rates of mental illness among incarcerated populations; and the disconnect between promising pilot programs and national reform all point to the need for stronger evidence to guide decisions.

Yet, unlike in health care, Canada's justice system faces a serious evidence deficit: fragmented data across jurisdictions makes it difficult to compare program outcomes. Anonymous databases—also known as de-identified or anonymized databanks (i.e., collections of linked datasets) provide one of the most promising solutions. Stripped of individual-level data and personal identifiers such as names, dates of birth, or addresses, de-identified databases allow sensitive justice-relevant information to be shared, linked, and analyzed while protecting privacy.

ANONYMIZED DATA: WHAT IT IS AND WHY IT MATTERS

Databanks—in this case collections of de-identified (anonymized) datasets—refer to organized bodies of information contained in databases, typically drawn from administrative intake systems and stripped of personal identifiers. These data can be securely accessed and analyzed to evaluate programs or outcomes and to better understand early social or educational risk factors associated with justice involvement. Access must occur within secure, controlled research environments designed to reduce re-identification risk to an acceptably low level, or stronger (more robust) privacy-preserving methods must be developed.

When coupled with standardized evaluation frameworks, access to anonymized data makes it possible to identify needs and ensure that public investment is directed toward initiatives that work. While anonymized datasets offer major benefits for evidence-based justice reform, their implementation has been uneven—limited in part by technical, ethical, and governance challenges.

The potential of anonymous databases for advancing standardized program evaluation across Canada's justice system is immense. Key initiatives such as the Integrated Correctional Services Survey (ICSS), the Justice Data Modernization Initiative (JDMI), and the Criminal Justice Relational Database (CJRD) have laid a strong foundation. To translate this foundation into lasting change, however, targeted policy and governance measures are required—including national evaluation guidelines, privacy safeguards, and community-informed oversight—to build trust, expand capacity, and move beyond “pilot project purgatory” toward sustainable, evidence-based reform.

THE POTENTIAL OF ANONYMOUS DATABASES

Integrated Correctional Services Survey (ICSS)

One of the most important anonymized datasets currently in use is Statistics Canada's Integrated Correctional Services Survey (ICSS). This national, anonymized dataset tracks an individual's movement through Canada's correctional systems, from admission to release, capturing demographics, offence details, sentence information, and movements within custody or community supervision (Statistics Canada, 2022).

ICSS does not collect full childhood histories, but, under strict privacy protocols, it can be linked to other datasets to study life-course factors influencing justice involvement. This capacity makes it an essential tool for examining the role of socioeconomic status, education, health, and other determinants in shaping justice trajectories.

Justice Data Modernization Initiative (JDMI)

More recently, Canada has launched the Justice Data Modernization Initiative (JDMI), led by Justice Canada in collaboration with Statistics Canada. JDMI aims to improve the collection and use of disaggregated (i.e., de-identified/anonymized)

data to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous, Black, and racialized populations in the justice system. Importantly, it advances this goal by promoting anonymized data and research partnerships with external academics and community organizations (Justice Canada & Statistics Canada, 2022). By prioritizing inclusivity and collaboration, JDMI has the potential to set national standards for how anonymized data is gathered and applied.

Criminal Justice Relational Database (CJRD)

Another important advance is the Criminal Justice Relational Database (CJRD). Managed through the Canadian Research Data Centre Network (CRDCN) and Statistics Canada, CJRD integrates anonymized criminal justice data—such as the ICSS and the Integrated Criminal Court Survey (ICCS)—with supplementary anonymized datasets on education, health, and socioeconomic indicators. This linkage allows for complex longitudinal (i.e., long-term) analyses of how social and economic factors intersect with justice system involvement (CRDCN, n.d.).

The existence of CJRD demonstrates how anonymized databases can extend beyond corrections or courts to provide a relational, cross-sectoral view. This kind of linkage is critical for understanding and addressing root causes of justice involvement, rather than only its symptoms.

For example, statistics show that most federally incarcerated individuals in Canada do not hold a high school diploma or equivalent—a marker of deeper systemic failures. Educational disengagement is often the downstream result of trauma, learning disabilities, poverty, abuse, neglect, or other criminogenic factors. These are precisely the kinds of influences that anonymized, longitudinal databases like the CJRD aim to surface and link. By identifying common early risk patterns, such databases make it possible to inform more effective correctional programming for those already in custody—or to target interventions upstream, before justice involvement begins.

THE PROMISE AND CURRENT LIMITS OF ANONYMOUS DATA IN JUSTICE PROGRAMS

The Promise and Current Limits of Anonymous Data in Justice Programs

From mainstream correctional education, Indigenous initiatives, reintegration efforts and emerging restorative practices, robust data is essential for understanding what works—and for whom.

Indigenous Courtwork (ICW) Program

The Indigenous Courtwork (ICW) Program operates across more than 450 communities, providing culturally appropriate assistance to Indigenous people navigating the justice system. A federal evaluation confirmed its ongoing relevance and effectiveness (Department of Justice Canada, 2023). However, current evaluations remain limited to program-level data. Linking ICW outcomes with anonymized national datasets such as the ICSS or the CJRD could strengthen the evidence base by demonstrating impacts on long-term outcomes like recidivism or reintegration.

CSC's Restorative Opportunities (RO) Program

Correctional Service Canada's Restorative Opportunities (RO) Program offers victim-offender mediation in serious cases. Program data track offender status, offence history, and participation metrics (Correctional Service Canada, 2021). Yet these data remain primarily internal. Anonymized linkage with broader correctional or social datasets could measure whether participation in restorative programs reduces recidivism or improves community safety outcomes across provinces.

BC Indigenous Justice Centres

The BC First Nations Justice Strategy has piloted Indigenous Justice Centres, offering legal aid, Gladue services, and culturally grounded alternatives (BC First Nations Justice Council, 2024). These pilots represent important innovation. But without integration into anonymized national datasets, the evidence generated may remain siloed provincially, limiting opportunities for scaling or replication across Canada.

Together, these examples demonstrate both the promise of anonymized databases and the cost of not using them. Without standardized, anonymized data collection, programs risk producing isolated success stories that lack the evidence needed for systemic change.

CHALLENGES AND RISKS

Despite their benefits and potential, anonymized databases pose significant challenges and risks.

Privacy and Public Trust

Anonymization must be robust, with clear privacy protocols to avoid the risks of re-identification. Communities—particularly Indigenous and racialized communities—must be involved in shaping governance frameworks to build trust and ensure data is not used in ways that perpetuate harm.

Recent federal developments, such as the Treasury Board's 2023 De-identification notice, signal growing institutional readiness to manage anonymized datasets responsibly and lay the groundwork for cross-sectoral data linkages in areas like health, corrections, and education.

Ensuring Standardization of Evaluation Data Across Jurisdictions

Canada's federal structure complicates national data initiatives. Provinces and territories collect and manage justice data differently, leading to inconsistencies. While the ICSS has made progress, initiatives like JDMI and CJRD highlight the ongoing difficulty of creating standardized, comparable datasets across jurisdictions (Justice Canada & Statistics Canada, 2022; CRDCN, n.d.).

Timeliness and Accessibility

Datasets like the CJRD rely on annual updates, while supplementary datasets (such as health or education) may lag. Researchers may face access barriers, limiting the speed at which findings can inform policy (CRDCN, n.d.).

THE CASE FOR STANDARDIZED PROGRAM EVALUATIONS

Canada has long been criticized for a lack of rigorous program evaluation in the justice sector. Promising interventions are too often launched as pilots but never scaled or discontinued based on robust evidence. McKinsey & Company famously called this “pilot purgatory” to describe stalled initiatives in business/tech (de Boer & Narayanan, 2018; McAslan et al., 2021).

Anonymous databases are a critical enabler of standardized evaluations. By providing anonymized, comparable data across provinces

and territories, they allow program outcomes to be measured consistently. This makes it possible to identify which programs are effective, replicate them, and discontinue ineffective initiatives. Without standardized evaluations, Canada risks repeating cycles of innovation without learning in its justice sector. Anonymous databases offer a potential way out of this cycle.

It is noteworthy that sectors like health care already benefit from national infrastructure and enforced reporting standards, which enable cross-provincial learning and system improvement at scale. The Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI), for instance, maintains anonymized health databases and enforces consistent performance metrics across jurisdictions—allowing for meaningful comparisons and coordinated policy action.¹ Canada's justice system lacks any comparable infrastructure.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

1. Independent Oversight

To ensure public trust, anonymous databases must be governed by independent oversight bodies with strong privacy and ethical safeguards. Community voices—particularly those of Indigenous, Black, and marginalized communities—must be integral to this oversight.

2. Clear Privacy Protocols

Re-identification risks must be addressed through rigorous anonymization techniques, secure, controlled data environments, and clear communication with the public about how data is used.

3. National Guidelines for Program Evaluation

A national framework should establish standardized program evaluation, requiring that all publicly funded justice programs collect anonymized data suitable for integration into national databases.

4. Strengthening Current Initiatives

Canada should build on existing momentum by:

- Expanding and resourcing JDMI to fulfill its mandate for inclusive disaggregated data.
- Maintaining and enhancing CJRD as a model

cross-sectoral dataset, with timely updates and researcher access

- Systemically linking to anonymized national databases in programs like ICW, RO, and Indigenous Justice Centres

Canada's justice system continues to operate without a comprehensive, anonymized infrastructure connecting incarceration to broader health and social outcomes. This blind spot limits evidence-based policymaking, hinders upstream intervention, and weakens the system's capacity to deliver fair, effective, and rehabilitative justice. Anonymized databanks are not merely technical tools—they are foundational tool to meaningful justice reform—enabling cross-sector insights that ensure interventions guided by evidence rather than assumption.

References

- BC First Nations Justice Council. (2024). Indigenous Justice Centres. <https://bcfnjc.com>
- Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI). (2023). Mental health and addictions data. <https://www.cihi.ca/en/topics/mental-health-and-substance-use>
- Correctional Service Canada. (2021). Evaluation of the Restorative Opportunities Program. Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/correctional-service/corporate/publications/2021/evaluation-restorative-opportunities-program.html>
- Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI). (2023). CIHI's approach to privacy and data protection. <https://www.cihi.ca/en/privacy-and-data-protection>
- Corrado, R. R., Freedman, L., & Blatier, C. (2014). The over-representation of youth with learning and related disorders in the criminal justice system. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, 5(2), 197–232.
- CRDCN / Statistics Canada. (n.d.). Criminal Justice Relational Database (CJRD). Canadian Research Data Centre Network. <https://crdcn.ca/data/criminal-justice-relational-database>
- De Boer, E., & Narayanan, R. (2018). Breaking out of pilot purgatory: Scaling digital and analytics pilots. McKinsey & Company. <https://www.mckinsey.com/capabilities/mckinsey-digital/our-insights/breaking-out-of-pilot-purgatory> <https://www.mckinsey.com/capabilities/people-and-organizational-performance/our-insights/the-organization-blog/avoid-pilot-purgatory-in-7-steps>
- Department of Justice Canada. (2023). Evaluation of the Indigenous Courtwork Program 2018–2022. Government of Canada. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cp-pm/eval/rep-rap/22-icw-paj/index.html>
- John Howard Society of Canada. (2024). Annual Report 2024. <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.johnhoward.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Annual-Report-2024-website.pdf>
- Justice Canada & Statistics Canada. (2022). Justice Data Modernization Initiative (JDMI). Government of Canada. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jdmi-imdj.html>
- McAslan, D., Najar Arevalo, A., King, M., & Miller, A. (2021). Pilot purgatory: Lessons from scaling digital health innovation in the UK. *Journal of Innovation in Health Informatics*, (28)3: 133–141.
- Office of the Correctional Investigator. (2022 Office of the Correctional Investigator. (2023). Annual Report 2022–2023. Government of Canada.
- Statistics Canada. (2022). Integrated Correctional Services Survey (ICSS): Overview. Government of Canada. <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&id=368198>
- Statistics Canada. (2022). Longitudinal and International Study of Adults (LISA): Overview. Government of Canada. <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=5144>
- Statistics Canada. (2023). General Social Survey (GSS): Overview. Government of Canada. <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/survey/household/4501>
- Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat. (2023, March 17). Privacy Implementation Notice 2023 01: De identification. Government of Canada. <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/services/access-information-privacy/access-information-privacy-notices/2023-01-de-identification.html?utm>

1. See: Canadian Institute for Health Information (2023). CIHI's approach to privacy and data protection. <https://www.cihi.ca/en/privacy-and-data-protection>

RÉSUMÉ

Evidence Without Exposure: Making the Case for Anonymized, Cross-Sectoral Justice Data in Canada

ÉMILIE CHRISTOPHER

Le système fédéral de justice du Canada présente un déficit de données probantes intersectorielles : les données demeurent fragmentées entre les provinces, les établissements correctionnels et les secteurs sociaux, ce qui entrave l'évaluation de ce qui fonctionne. Émilie Christopher (MA, Nouvelle-Écosse) soutient que des bases de données désidentifiées—reliant justice, santé, éducation et conditions socioéconomiques—offrent une solution efficace. Ces bases protègent la vie privée tout en permettant des analyses rigoureuses et longitudinales. Des outils comme l'Enquête sur les services correctionnels (ESCC), l'Initiative de modernisation des données sur la justice (IMDJ) et la Base de données relationnelle sur la justice (CJRD) ont jeté les bases essentielles, mais de nombreux ensembles de données pertinents demeurent non reliés. Sans intégration, les possibilités d'intervention précoce, d'évaluation équitable et de programmes efficaces sont perdues. Christopher fait valoir que les bases anonymisées peuvent combler cette lacune en fournissant l'infrastructure factuelle nécessaire à un système de justice plus transparent, responsable et efficace au Canada.



Accused Persons Require Support, not Control: Why the “Jail not Bail” Sentiment Lacks Empirical Support

ALYSSA LEBLOND (PHD)

Calls for “jail not bail” have shaped Canada’s newest reforms, including Bill C-48, which shifts the burden from the Crown to the accused to justify release for certain offences. Yet evidence-based analysis finds a lack of empirical support that tougher bail decreases crime or increases public safety. Nearly 86 percent of those in Canada’s jails are legally innocent, held under conditions as restrictive as those sentenced to custody. Research shows that even short periods in detention can increase, rather than reduce, future offending. Strict bail terms—including conditions prohibiting substance use and attending specific locations—criminalize otherwise lawful behaviour. If public safety is our objective, accused require support, rather than additional control.

INTRODUCTION

In December 2022, media headlines flooded after OPP Constable Grzegorz Pierzchala was shot and killed on duty (“Man Charged with Killing OPP Officer Previously Released on Bail,” 2022). Central to these headlines was that the accused was on bail at the time of the alleged offence. Sensationalized cases such as this have fuelled a growing sentiment that Canada has a “catch-and-release” bail system with calls for bail reform advocating “jail, not bail.” This reaction—driven by rare but tragic cases often sensationalized in the media—has increasingly shaped national policy debates around bail and public safety.

In response to these concerns, Bill C-48, An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (bail reform) received Royal Assent in January of 2024. In its stated aim to address public safety concerns, this bill codified new “reverse-onus” offences (shifting the burden to justify release on bail from the Crown to the accused) for those charged with weapons offences and repeat intimate-partner violence (Government of Canada, 2023). Most recently, Mark Carney indicated he will also create additional reverse onus offences for violent car theft, car theft for a criminal organization,

Dr. Alyssa Leblond is an Assistant Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Nipissing University (North Bay, ON). She obtained her PhD in Sociology at Queen’s University (Kingston, ON) in 2025. Dr. Leblond is a sociology of punishment scholar whose specialization sits at the nexus of the penal voluntary sector and bail. Her research considers the role of non-governmental organizations in criminal justice service delivery.

home invasion, as well as for certain human trafficking and smuggling offences (Aiello, 2025).

Reverse onus works contrary to the typical Crown onus where there is a presumption of unconditional release on bail unless the Crown shows cause that more restrictive release is necessary. Despite flashy headlines and catchy slogans, there is no empirical basis to support the underlying claim that Canada’s bail system is too lenient, nor that making bail more difficult to obtain would increase public safety.

Rather, if public safety—including that of victims—is the priority, accused persons require support rather than control.

PRE-TRIAL DETENTION AND CRIME TRENDS IN CANADA

Although Canada’s bail system is frequently touted as being lenient, the number of accused held in pre-trial detention (PTD or remand) is at an all-time high. Indeed, the most recent data from 2024 show that nearly 86% of individuals in PTD are found legally innocent rather than sentenced (Statistics Canada, 2025b).

Over the past ten years (from 2014–2024) there has been an 18.93% increase in the number of individuals in PTD in Canada. This quite clearly illustrates that Canada’s bail system is not lenient but rather operating at its harshest.

Perhaps this growth in the PTD (remand) rate would be explainable if our crime rate or crime severity had increased, however this is not the case. Although there was a slight increase in the police-reported crime rate in 2014, the crime rate remains notably lower than it was in the 1990s (below 6,000 per 100,000 compared to over 10,000 in 1991) (Statistics Canada, 2025a).

Canada’s crime severity index follows a similar trend; though it has been increasing since 2014, in 2024 the crime severity index was 77.89—lower than in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Statistics Canada, 2025c). This disconnect between falling crime and rising detention rates reveals a deeper structural problem in Canada’s pre-trial system—one driven less by crime trends than by policy and practice. In this sense, we continue to detain a greater number of legally innocent individuals, and this growth is not explained by increases in crime or crime severity.

BAIL: ONEROUS CONDITIONS AND THE LENIENCY MYTH

Canadian bail scholarship consistently demonstrates that, contrary to our bail law, most accused are released subject to onerous conditions. On average, accused must comply with six to eight conditions (Myers, 2009; Schumann & Yule, 2022).

When violated, these conditions often criminalize what is not typically a crime, such as staying out

past curfew, attending certain locations, or talking to certain people. What is more, there is no evidence to support that imposing such restrictive conditions decreases crime or increases public safety (Myers & Ireland, 2021; Sprott & Sutherland, 2015). This paradox is central to the current bail reform, Bill C-48: measures intended to enhance safety have, in practice, created new pathways to criminalization.

It is known that the imposition of onerous conditions sets an accused person up to fail. That is, the number of conditions imposed, and the length of time accused’s are required to comply with conditions means that many accused will incur charges for breaching a bail condition (Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 2014, 2024; Yule & MacDiarmid, 2024).

According to Sprott and Myers (2011), taking over six months to resolve a case significantly increases the likelihood of a charge for failing to comply. Similarly, while calls for “jail, not bail” seem sensible to promote public safety, research consistently demonstrates the opposite.

While an accused person cannot harm the public if detained, research shows that time spent in PTD (remand)—even if short—increases recidivism (DeMichele et al., 2025; Heaton et al., 2017). Taken together, “tough on crime” policies, both related to bail and the criminal legal system more broadly, have been shown empirically to increase crime and decrease public safety.

SUPPORT, NOT CONTROL, FOR THE ACCUSED PERSON

Most of the accused processed through the criminal legal system are socially and economically marginalized and have complex unmet needs that make it difficult to succeed on bail (John Howard Society of Ontario, 2025; Myers & Leblond, 2024; Yule & Schumann, 2023).

To increase public safety and decrease charges on bail, these accused persons require support, not control. For example, Myers and McDermott (2024) argue that the strength of sureties (a friend or family member responsible for supervising the accused on bail) is not in their role as a civilian jailer but instead in the support they provide to the accused.

Leblond (2025b) furthers these findings,

demonstrating that the support role of Bail Supervision Program is particularly valuable to the accused as it helps them navigate the criminal legal process and connect with community services, while providing emotional support.

As research consistently shows, despite the apparent logic that making a bail system harsher by detaining more of the accused and imposing more conditions on those released would increase public safety, the opposite is true. Such measures simply result in additional charges for failing to comply and overcrowded jails. This then results in additional burdening of an already overburdened system.

Instead, we ought to conserve police and court resources to focus on the most serious offences. Providing supports including bail bed programs, court navigators, court mental health workers, and court date reminder cards/texts are proven ways to decrease administration of justice charges (Ferri, 2022; John Howard Society of Ontario, 2025; Leblond, 2025b).

Particularly for the most marginalized accused persons, care rather than control remains the surest path to public safety.

References

Aiello, R. (2025, October 16). Carney announces details of new bail reform Bill coming next week. CTV News. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/article/carney-announces-details-of-new-bail-reform-bill-coming-next-week/>

Canadian Civil Liberties Association. (2014). Set up to fail: Bail and the revolving door of pre-trial detention.

Canadian Civil Liberties Association. (2024). Set Up to Fail: Bail and the Revolving Door of Pre-Trial Detention – Version 2.

DeMichele, M., Silver, I., & Labrecque, R. (2025). Locked up and awaiting trial: Testing the criminogenic and punitive effects of spending a week or more in pre-trial detention. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 24, 99–121.

Ferri, R. (2022). The benefits of live court date reminder phone calls during pre-trial case processing. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 18, 149–169.

Government of Canada, D. of J. (2023, February 17). Fact Sheet: The bail process. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/cj-jp/bail-caution/index.html?utm>

Heaton, P., Mayson, S., & Stevenson, M. (2017). The downstream consequences of misdemeanor pre-trial detention. *Stanford Law Review*, 69, 711–794.

John Howard Society of Ontario. (2025). Finding common ground: Cross-sector solutions to modernize Ontario's bail system.

Leblond, A. (2025a). Care and control? Examining the role of the penal voluntary sector in bail supervision [Doctoral dissertation]. Queen's University.

Leblond, A. (2025b). "You have to break the law to get into something good": Accused's perceptions of bail supervision program. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 67(2), 49–69.

Man charged with killing OPP officer previously released on bail. (2022, December 30). [Video recording]. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/video/1.6700174>

Myers, N. (2009). Shifting risk: bail and the use of sureties. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 21(1), 127–147.

Myers, N., & Ireland, D. (2021). Unpacking Manitoba bail practices: Systemic discrimination, conditions of release and the potential to reduce the remand population. *Criminal Law Quarterly*, 69(1), 26–62.

Myers, N., & Leblond, A. (2024). Disciplining risk: Governing through conditions on bail in the community pre-trial. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 92.

Myers, N., & McDermott, J. (2024). Legally a jailer, practically a carer: Release on bail subject to surety supervision. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 65(4), 3–23.

Schumann, R., & Yule, C. (2022). Unbreaking bail? Post-Antic Trends in Bail Outcomes. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 37(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cls.2021.43>

Sprott, J., & Myers, N. (2011). "Set up to fail": The unintended consequences of multiple bail conditions. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 53(4), 404–423.

Sprott, J., & Sutherland, J. (2015). Unintended consequences of multiple bail conditions for youth. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 57(1), 59–81.

Statistics Canada. (2025a). Incident-based crime statistics, by detailed violations, Canada, provinces, territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Canadian Forces Military Police. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3510017701>

Statistics Canada. (2025b). Table 35-10-0154-01 Average counts of adults in provincial and territorial correctional programs. Average Counts of Adults in Provincial and Territorial Correctional Programs. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3510015401&pickMembers%5B0%5D=1.7&cubeTimeFrame.startYear=2019+%2F+2020&cubeTimeFrame.endYear=2023+%2F+2024&referencePeriods=20190101%2C20230101>

Statistics Canada. (2025c). Police-reported Crime Severity Indexes, Canada, 1998 to 2024. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/250722/cg-a001-eng.htm>

Yule, C., & MacDiarmid, L. (2024). "It's a set up": Examining the relationship between bail conditions and the revolving door of justice. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 1–18.

Yule, C., & Schumann, R. (2023). Reflections from accused: Advice on Navigating life on Bail. *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 62, 516–534.

RÉSUMÉ

Accused Persons require Support, not Control: Why the “Jail not Bail” Sentiment Lacks Empirical Support

ALYSSA LEBLOND (PHD)
Ph. D. (Sociologie), professeure adjointe, Université Nipissing, North Bay (ON), et doctorante à Queen's University (Kingston, ON)

Les appels à « la prison plutôt que la mise en liberté » ont façonné les plus récentes réformes, dont le projet de loi C-48, qui transfère à l'accusé — et non à la Couronne — le fardeau de justifier sa remise en liberté pour certaines infractions. Pourtant, cette analyse fondée sur des données probantes ne trouve aucun appui empirique à l'idée que durcir la mise en liberté sous caution réduit la criminalité ou augmente la sécurité publique. Près de 86 % des personnes incarcérées au Canada sont légalement innocentes, détenues dans des conditions aussi strictes qu'une peine. Même une brève détention peut accroître, plutôt que réduire, la récidive. Les conditions strictes criminalisent des comportements autrement licites. Si notre but est la sécurité publique, les personnes accusées ont besoin de soutien, non d'un contrôle accru.

Twists and Turns

DOUG HECKBERT

*Doug Heckbert (2020)—former probation officer, educator, and author of **Go Ahead and Shoot Me!**—shares the story of Chris and Christine Davies, two formerly incarcerated Edmontonians who turned decades of trauma, addiction, and crime into a new life as parents, professionals and advocates. Chris, now a journeyman electrician, and Christine, now a housing program manager and community leader, have reflected on how prison programs, mentorship, cultural inclusion and determination helped them rewrite their lives. What emerges is a story of resilience, reconnection, and transformative renewal—a reminder that with support and purpose, people can, and do, successfully rebuild their lives after incarceration.*

This contribution to the *Justice Report* deals with the twists and turns in the lives of Chris Davies and Christine Davies of Edmonton, Alberta. They each grew up in the Edmonton region, became involved in the street drug and crime scene, served lengthy penitentiary sentences and eventually straightened out their lives to become loving parents, supportive partners and valued employees.

I met Chris in 2019 when I was writing *Go Ahead and Shoot Me! And Other True Cases About Ordinary Criminals* (Durvile Publications Ltd., Calgary, 2020). In the book, Chris was known as Ryan for confidentiality reasons. I briefly met Christine shortly after the book was published. Chris and I kept in touch over the years, and I started to hear more about Christine. I just had to interview this lady – she had such a remarkable story of transformation, similar to Chris’s.

CHRIS

Right now, Chris is forty-one years old. He was born in Edmonton and moved with his family down east when he was one. He says he had a pretty good upbringing, no neglect or abuse. The family moved back to the Edmonton area when he was ten. He didn’t feel like he fit in with the new kids and he started getting into fights at school. By the time he was fourteen, he had been bounced between various schools, and that is when his schooling fell apart. He started using drugs and, at age sixteen, was homeless – living on the streets in the city. Not surprisingly, Chris got involved in selling drugs. In addition to using and selling a variety of drugs, he stole stuff, robbed people of their valuables, broke into places, but always came back to dealing. He crashed in spare rooms of his clients, always on the move. This lifestyle lasted three years and came with

terrible risks. In his words: “*I’m surprised we didn’t kill anybody, all for twenty bucks... we were just thorough little bastards, real monsters!*” – always trying to stay a step ahead of the police.

Chris’s first criminal charge was for trafficking, to which he promptly pleaded guilty. He was fast-tracked for parole from a half-way house, but his drug use led to parole cancellation and sentence completion in prison. Upon release, Chris made a concerted effort to settle down. He worked steadily and his daughter was born. For two years, his focus was on his daughter and working, but his daughter’s mother was drinking heavily and they separated.

Again, Chris drifted back to the streets and drug scene. This led to his second charge – possession for the purposes of trafficking – and another penitentiary sentence. He served his sentence in custody, focused on getting more tattoos, until granted statutory release to a half-way house where he got suspended. Upon completion of this sentence, Chris went right back to the streets and dealing, although he sometimes held good-paying legitimate jobs.

During this time, he was attacked and stabbed in a drug deal gone bad – he nearly died. Chris started to seriously think about the last ten years of his life – he had seen the worst of the drug scene, was well known to police, had the reputation in court of being a veteran criminal, and his drug network was crumbling. Again, he was charged with drug possession and sentenced to a penitentiary.

Now his attitude changed. He commented: “*I’m f’n done; I’m not doing this anymore; There is nothing I miss about this anymore; no matter what happens,*

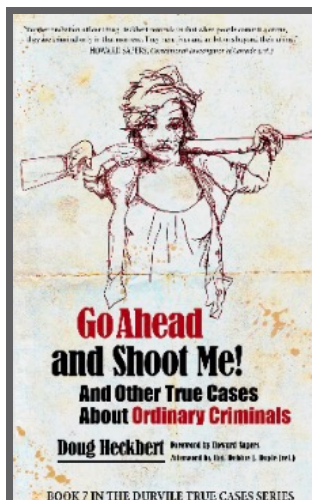
I'm done." With the help of institutional teachers, he earned his high school diploma and signed up for bodybuilding (and continued this long after finishing his sentence). He took a trades recruitment program in prison, resulting in a positive reference plus some tools and leads for employment. Also while incarcerated, he attended an advanced substance abuse program where he learned he could unlearn being an addict; he found this was incredibly helpful in transforming himself from a veteran drug user with a serious drug use problem to being a moderate social drinker. Chris is now a journeyman electrician, with experience at commercial projects in Edmonton, the capital city region and remote work camps.

Chris and Christine have been married for four years now. He was involved in the drug scene, when they first met – was attracted but put her out of his mind, figuring he had no chance. Ten years later, when he was done with crime and the drug scene, they met again through friends – first dating, then living together for several years before getting married. Chris and Christine each have a child from a previous relationship, plus one together. He sums up his life as working, supporting Christine in her work and doing family things with their three children.

CHRISTINE

Now, turning to Christine. She begins: *"I am Indigenous - my mom is Cree and my biological father was White. My mom had me in Edmonton when she was just 16 years old and my dad was 20. They were young, still figuring out life, and caught up in drinking and partying. By the time I was around two, they split up, and my mom continued to struggle with alcohol throughout my childhood."* Christine's mom's family carried deep intergenerational trauma from the impact of Indian residential schools – a pain that shaped much of Christine's early years. Around age 10, Christine's mom and stepdad moved the family to an acreage outside Sherwood Park, AB, building a house on a large hill. Christine attended a small rural school – she stood out as the only Indigenous-looking student. She was bullied including by name calling and struggled to feel she belonged. *"I didn't have many female friends,"* Christine recalls. *"I mostly hung out with guys, and I got bullied for that, too."*

Because her mom continued drinking, Christine spent a lot of time with her grandparents, who lived across from the acreage, and with her biological



Who Educates the Public About Justice?

In his 2024 CCJA conference presentation at Banff (www.ccja-acjp.ca), Doug Heckbert—former probation officer, educator, and author of *Go Ahead and Shoot Me!*—asked a vital question: who is responsible for helping the public understand our criminal justice system?

Drawing from real-life stories like Chris's, Heckbert calls for and contributes to clearer, more human-centred public education.

father in the city. But as she entered high school, things began to spiral. *"I developed a reputation"* she admits. *"I was running off, doing drugs, rebelling against my mom – and eventually, I became too much for my grandparents to handle."* By her teenage years, Christine was feeling abandoned and unsupported.

"I didn't have nurturing, I didn't have parenting. I didn't have structure. To this day, I still deal with abandonment issues and struggles with my confidence."

Eventually, Christine ran away to the streets of Edmonton, finding herself bouncing between emergency shelters. Through friends, she was introduced to crystal meth: *"The first time I tried it I was instantly hooked. It gave me this feeling like I was on top of the world. All my problems, all my trauma, - it just disappeared. Nothing else mattered."*

Survival became Christine's focus. She learned how to break into vehicles, steal, and sell what she could. She also experienced intense vulnerability and abuse during this time. *"It's all kind of a blur – a mix of criminal activity, trying to get by, trying to survive."* During this chaotic period, she met Chris — but at the time, his focus was more on drug dealing than on their relationship. Over the coming years, Christine

was in and out of youth correctional centres, adult remand facilities and multiple adult correctional institutions. Moving between unstable homes and abusive relationships, her drug use escalated, and she began trading sex for money and drugs. Eventually, she received a seven-year sentence in a women's penitentiary for multiple armed robbery convictions and other charges.

Walking into prison, Christine made herself a promise: *"I'm going to set the tone. I'm going to be the hardest person and nobody's going to mess with me. That was my mindset going in"*. For a while, that mentality carried her – but then she met a pastor who shifted her perspective. *"I had to grieve the loss of my 20s. I was arrested at 20 years old and wasn't getting out until I was 30. I remember thinking 'Where is my life going?' I have no skills, nothing to show for it. That's when I started asking myself 'What am I doing with my life?'"* From that point forward, Christine made a choice to change. She started taking programs, working out, and upgrading her education. She took on jobs inside the institution – cooking, cleaning, purchasing groceries – and began learning the life skills she had missed growing up.

"For the first time [in my life], I felt like I had some control – like I could set boundaries for myself and others."

— Christine Davies

One program in particular was life-changing: it focused on boundaries and co-dependency. *"It was all new to me,"* Christine shares. *"I started recalling how much unhealthy dynamics had shaped my life. For the first time, I felt like I had some control – like I could set boundaries for myself and others"*. She quit using drugs and embraced her culture, joining an Indigenous drumming group. *"This was the first time I felt a deep sense of belonging"* she says softly. *"It was the start of reconnecting with who I am."*

Christine later applied and was accepted into an Indigenous-led urban minimum security facility, where she became pregnant and had her first son. She was still learning, still vulnerable, but determined to build a different life. Through a community integration program, she reconnected with Chris. Both were now seeking a healthier, crime-free lifestyle, surrounded by friends also in recovery.

"We realized that recovery didn't have to mean powerlessness. It was about reclaiming our lives and writing a new story."

With her last sentence behind her, Christine found work in the housing sector supporting hard-to-house individuals, many of whom were Indigenous. Her lived experience became her strength – it allowed her to connect deeply with the residents she served. She later joined an Indigenous-led organization that valued her lived experience and perspective. Christine quickly moved into leadership and is now the Housing Program Manager, overseeing six housing sites that support 250 residents. Her journey has also reached the national stage. In Ottawa, she spoke at the 9th Annual Symposium of the Pan-Canadian Voice of Women's Housing (2025), offering her lived experience and insights to a national audience.

Christine reflects with gratitude: *"For people like me, who've lived through so much, we don't take the little things for granted. I've missed out on so much but now, it's the little things that just make me happiest."*

Today, Christine balances being a full-time mom of three with her demanding and fulfilling career. She also develops training programs, creates podcasts sharing stories of people with lived experience and supports her community through advocacy and leadership. Her final words capture her journey best: *"There is nothing like falling back in love with life – and being able to have a career where I get to do that for my community. I'm living the dream."*

RÉSUMÉ

Twists and Turns

DOUG HECKBERT

Doug Heckbert (2020) — ancien agent de probation, enseignant et auteur de *Go Ahead and Shoot Me!* — raconte l'histoire de Chris et Christine Davies, deux Edmontoniens anciennement incarcérés qui ont transformé des décennies de traumatismes, de dépendance et de criminalité en une nouvelle vie de parents, de professionnels et de défenseurs des droits. Chris est aujourd'hui compagnon électricien ; Christine, gestionnaire d'un programme de logement et leader communautaire. Ils racontent comment les programmes correctionnels, le mentorat, l'inclusion sociale et la persévérance leur ont permis de se reconstruire. C'est une histoire de résilience, de reconnexion et de renouveau — un rappel que, avec soutien et objectif, il est possible de rebâtir sa vie après l'incarcération.



Book Review by Miranda Henderson¹ of *The Potential Contribution of Social Science to Tomorrow's Society: A Criminologist's Analysis & Predictions* by Ezzat A. Fattah²

British Columbia: Self-published (E.A. Fattah). 2023. 376 p.

MIRANDA HENDERSON

Seventy-five years into his criminal justice career, the distinguished Ezzat Fattah continues to work to improve the discipline, as evidenced in his latest book. Fattah is not shy of striding in where many fear to tread, making many controversial arguments about key aspects of the justice system throughout the book. He argues against the use of moral judgments and *mens rea* ("guilty mind") in sentencing—concepts that (archaically) frame wrongdoing in terms of evil intent and guilt, rather than the physical, psychological, financial and social harms it creates—advocating for the abolition of prisons and a complete restructuring of the current criminal justice paradigm. The book is split into four parts, focusing on the clash between theological/supernatural beliefs and positivist (evidence based) values, criminology's critiques of the current system (such as the ineffectiveness of punishment and the arbitrary separation of civil and criminal law), the role of restorative justice, and the potential of victimology.

Fattah presents restorative justice as the answer

to the issues raised by the retributive paradigm, highlighting the ability of the restorative approach to provide victims not only with restitution (especially those hidden in the dark figure of crime) but also to promote confidence and healing for both the victim and the offender and expose issues that may have contributed to why the crime occurred. Fattah warns about some pitfalls that restorative justice can (and has) encounter(ed), such as the need for active participation from all parties involved, the need for public support, and the risk of making it an add-on rather than a replacement to the current paradigm, where it is used sparingly on select offenders and can become part of a net-widening process that involves more people in a broken system.

Fattah makes a distinction between original or criminological victimology, based on research, and new or applied victimology, which focuses on advocacy. He attributes many of the losses to the rights of offenders, to new victimologists, who, instead of allowing the discipline to be a rising tide that improves everyone's rights, seem to be focused

1. The reviewer, Miranda Henderson, holds a BA in Criminal Justice from Mount Royal University (Calgary, AB): 2mirahenderson@gmail.com

2. Ezzat Fattah, PhD, DHC (Liège), FRSC, founder of Simon Fraser University's School of Criminology (BC), emeritus professor, long standing fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and recipient of international awards.

on undermining offenders' rights. He also examines issues with many services meant to help victims; they often discount the victimization of socially expendable victims (e.g., offenders who are abused in jail) or require applicants to cooperate with law enforcement to receive help. Fattah highlights how victims who go through the court system are less satisfied than those who do not engage with it, which goes a long way to support the need for a new paradigm of justice (informed by victimology).

The examples Fattah cites to support his arguments are numerous and well applied, benefiting from his cross-disciplinary study of sociology, psychology, and statistics. His years of experience in the criminal justice field enable him to draw on pertinent examples across the decades naturally and organically. Fattah uses quotes from experts in the field throughout the book to great effect: they help cement his controversial positions and break up the text of the book's subsections (physically and stylistically). He uses statistics succinctly to highlight his arguments. The number of secondary sources Fattah uses is immense, providing readers with the opportunity to further research topics in the book that interest them. The result is a book that invites questions and curiosity, opening readers up to changing their preconceived biases.

The book is primarily comprised of previous publications and lectures by Fattah, spanning a timeline from 1982 to 2025. This lends credence to his argument about the lack of progress made in criminal justice. However, it does result in some chapters of the book having repetitive sections, most noticeably in the repetition of similar arguments across chapters and some examples being repeated nearly word for word; the book acknowledges this in the copyright section. This does not undermine the book – it may in fact have the advantage of helping readers who have taken breaks between chapters pick it back up easily. But it may result in some readers' interest lagging slightly as they tread the already-worn path of the arguments, and in the book having less space for new examples/insights.

I would recommend this book to anyone, as it does not require any supplementary knowledge

to understand and is very insightful. This book challenges conventions we take for granted, pushes beyond platitudes to advocate for expansive change, and pulls back the curtain on the negative impact of well-intentioned actions. In the face of an ever-more competitive society that breeds strife and pessimism, this book shows the potential for a better, evidence-based system that brings us together in empathy and understanding to repair the harms crime causes and exposes. Fattah electrifies the fence that many people would prefer to sit on and motivates them to start making changes to build a better tomorrow.

RÉSUMÉ

Book Review by Miranda Henderson of *The Potential Contribution of Social Science to Tomorrow's Society: A Criminologist's Analysis & Predictions* by Ezzat A. Fattah
Vancouver: E. A. Fattah. 2023. 376 p.

MIRANDA HENDERSON

Dans sa recension de *The Potential Contribution of Social Science to Tomorrow's Society*, Miranda Henderson analyse l'appel audacieux d'Ezzat A. Fattah à abolir les prisons, rejeter la notion de culpabilité morale et réinventer la justice à travers la réduction des méfaits, la justice réparatrice et la victimologie. S'appuyant sur des décennies de recherche, Henderson met en lumière sa critique empirique de la rétribution et sa vision d'un paradigme de justice humain et tourné vers l'avenir.

THANK YOU DR. JOHN WINTERDYK

The *Justice Report* extends its sincere appreciation to Dr. John Winterdyk for handling several book reviews for the *Justice Report* in recent years. His discerning eye, editorial guidance, and steady commitment helped ensure that timely and significant new publications were featured in our pages—bringing vital ideas and debates to our readers across Canada.

We remain deeply grateful for Dr. Winterdyk's many contributions to the *Justice Report* and hope to continue seeing his name among our contributors in future issues.

Introducing “Reading Justice” with Mira Henderson

Building on her book reviews and volunteer work as *Justice Report* Assistant at CCJA's Banff 2024 conference, her Congress Recap (JR 40.4), and earlier contributions to the *Justice Report*, Mira Henderson will now turn her critical lens to the world of ideas shaping criminal justice in Canada.

With strong encouragement from Dr. Winterdyk—who praised Mira's insightful reviewing style and editorial rigour—the *Justice Report* will be launching Reading Justice, a new regular column, in 2026.

Each installment of this new column will spotlight books that challenge assumptions, advance research, and provoke reflection on justice in theory and in practice. Mira's thoughtful commentary will continue the *Justice Report* tradition of engaging readers with perspectives that inform, inspire, and question.

Forensic Genetic Genealogy: The Unwilling Informant

JANNE HOLMGREN (PHD)

Mount Royal University

In her detailed analysis, Janne Holmgren examines the arrest of Joseph James DeAngelo—identified in 2018 as the Golden State Killer—through Forensic Genetic Genealogy (FGG), a powerful but controversial investigative tool. FGG merges DNA analysis with genealogical research using consumer genetic databases to identify distant relatives of crime scene DNA. The technique has helped solve hundreds of cases and identify thousands of unidentified deceased persons. However, it raises ethical and legal concerns about third-party privacy and informed consent. As law enforcement increasingly turns to open-access databases like GEDmatch, Holmgren questions whether consumers are aware of the risks of becoming unwitting informants in criminal investigations. She also highlights growing privacy concerns in Canada, where oversight bodies have begun scrutinizing and responding to the use of forensic genealogy in law enforcement.

Joseph James DeAngelo, a serial murderer and rapist, was arrested and charged on April 24, 2018, in Orange County, California. DeAngelo committed his crimes over a twelve-year period until the authorities ultimately identified him using a technique called Forensic Genetic Genealogy (FGG)—also referred to as Investigative Genetic Genealogy (IGG) (Wickenheiser, 2019), Investigative Forensic Genetic Genealogy (iFGG) (Tuazon et al., 2024), or Forensic Investigative Genetic Genealogy (FIGG) (Guerrini et al., 2025).

FGG does not replace traditional investigative techniques, but it provides a relatively new tool for law enforcement to use in identifying perpetrators of crime, missing individuals, and human remains. FGG does, however, raise serious concerns involving the privacy interests of third parties.

WHAT IS FGG?

FGG involves searching commercial genealogy databases for individuals whose DNA closely matches an unidentified DNA sample. People in the database who share DNA with the target are usually distant relatives.

Direct-to-Consumer (DTC) DNA testing began in 2000, when Oxford Ancestors (Bicester, UK) released its first “kit” to the public. Companies offering DNA sampling for inclusion in closed databases, like 23andMe and AncestryDNA, soon followed. Closed databases are private, allowing consumers limited control and search access within their databases

Janne Holmgren is a professor of criminal justice at Mount Royal University in Calgary, with recognized expertise in forensic criminology. She earned her PhD from the University of Calgary, where her research explored how Canadian judges and juries interpret DNA evidence. Her work bridges science and justice, focusing on investigative genetic genealogy, juror decision-making, and the ethical use of forensic technologies in the courtroom. A sought-after expert in forensic science, Holmgren frequently presents at regional and national conferences and contributes critical insight to discussions on DNA evidence and forensic ethics.

(Glynn, 2022). Law enforcement requires a warrant to search closed databases. GEDmatch, FamilyTreeDNA, and MyHeritage, on the other hand, are open databases, where consumers can search their own data against information contained in the database. It is estimated that more than 36 million people have used direct-to-consumer autosomal genetic tests (Kling et al., 2021).

HOW DO COMMERCIAL GENEALOGY COMPANIES CREATE A DATABASE?

Consumers collect their own DNA samples, either saliva or a buccal swab from the inside of the cheek, using a test kit provided by the genealogy company.

The consumer then mails the sample to the company for analysis. Autosomal DNA — DNA inherited equally from both parents — is extracted from the sample and analyzed. The test looks at hundreds of thousands of specific genetic markers called SNPs ('snips'), spread across the genome. While a typical test may analyze between 600,000 and 1 million autosomal SNPs, most companies analyze around 700,000 to 800,000. This level of detail allows them to identify indirect, distant genetic (i.e., familial) relationships, trace ancestry, detect propensities for disease, identify certain inherited traits, and more.

Because matches depend on comparisons with existing entries, the larger the database (i.e., the collection of stored DNA profiles), the more likely an individual's DNA sample will find a match (i.e., a family relative). If a database has more than one million DNA profiles, for example, then it is probable that a third-degree cousin relationship can be identified (Erich et al., 2018). Most companies offering direct-to-consumer DNA analysis with large genealogical databases offer the option to find familial genetic relatives by locating identity-by-descent (IBD) (Wickenheiser, 2019).

Individuals may take DTC DNA tests from multiple companies or transfer their results (i.e., DNA data) to another testing company that accepts uploads. AncestryDNA and 23andMe do not accept uploads from other companies, but they allow users to download their results for use elsewhere. FamilyTreeDNA and MyHeritage allow both downloads and uploads

To increase the chances of identifying new or unknown familial relatives, many genealogy consumers upload their DNA profiles to multiple companies. Users can also delete their data within their account at any time or request its removal from the database operator (GEDmatch, 2024).

HOW DOES FORENSIC GENETIC GENEALOGY WORK?

Law enforcement agencies use FGG as an investigative tool when the usual law enforcement databases, such as the National DNA Data Bank (NDDB) or the FBI's Combined DNA Index System (CODIS), fail to reveal any connection to an individual. Moreover, modern FGG is different from the way in which law enforcement usually conducts

DNA profiling. Generally, law enforcement submits a DNA sample collected at a crime scene, for example, to an official database such as NDDB or CODIS with the hope of revealing a direct match to the DNA of an individual already identified in the database. With FGG, law enforcement seeks a close match between the DNA collected for the investigative purposes of a case and someone in a genealogical database whose family tree, along with extended research, might reveal the identity of a relative. In other words, law enforcement seeks a family relative of the target whose DNA is unidentified, rather than the target themselves.

As of December 2023, forensic genetic genealogy was used to solve 651 criminal cases using FGG and 318 individual perpetrators, and assisted in the identification of 4,654 deceased persons (Dowdeswell, 2024).

Law enforcement typically contracts with an individual with expertise in genetic genealogy or hires a private company (e.g., Parabon Nanolabs) submit an electronic file containing DNA data, which is then converted into a genetic genealogy profile (much like a bar code). The contracted individual or company may be employed by or independent from the genetic genealogy hosting database (Lynch, 2023; see also FBI, 2025). A proprietary algorithm is then used to compare the submitted DNA with profiles in the database, looking for genetic similarities that may suggest familial relationships.

These relationships are measured using centimorgans (cM), a unit that estimates how much DNA two people share based on shared DNA inherited from common ancestors — the higher the shared cM value, the closer the likely relationship. The amount of cM is then used to infer how closely related the individuals may be. For example, biological siblings typically share between 37 and 61 per cent of their DNA, or roughly 500cM to 2,800cM (Kling et al., 2021).

Privacy is a major concern, legally and ethically. Not all genealogy databases allow for law enforcement to upload crime scene samples. GEDmatch, an open database, has, since 2018, allowed law enforcement uploads for the purpose of identifying perpetrators of violent crimes and the identification of deceased individuals. After 2020, GEDmatch generated an opt-

in/opt-out system for users to decide if they wanted law enforcement to have access to their profiles. Consumer profiles entered into the GEDmatch database prior to 2020 were automatically set to an opt-out setting, which meant that users wanting to allow law enforcement access to their profiles had to opt in manually.

In 2021, GEDmatch changed its opt-in/opt-out choices. Users can still opt out of having law enforcement access their profiles, but all users are now included in comparisons for unidentified remains.

In recent years, some companies like GEDmatch added a separate portal (GEDmatch PRO™, 2020) designed to support police and forensic teams with investigative comparisons to GEDmatch data. DNASolves® focuses on human identification for law enforcement investigations only. It does not operate as a genealogical database for ancestry public searches (DNASolves®, 2024).

Although this article focuses on the U.S. context, similar privacy concerns have begun to emerge in Canada. In 2023, the Office of the Privacy Commissioner found that the Canada Border Services Agency had improperly used a consumer genealogy site to determine a detainee's origins—prompting questions about oversight and consent. Ontario remains the only province to issue specific guidance: in 2025, its Information and Privacy Commissioner released non-binding “guardrails” for police use of forensic genealogy, encouraging transparency and proportionality.

PRIVACY AND ETHICAL ISSUES

Matches found in commercial genealogical databases are based on researchers constructing family trees. Their research often incorporates historical records and other sources to build family trees and verify identities and kinship. Information derived from quality sources (e.g., original records) is key to reaching reliable genealogical conclusions. Record collections used in genealogical research include vital records such as birth, death, and marriage certificates, adoption, census, immigration/emigration, church; military, court, land, and property records, cemetery records; tax rolls, voter lists; and online sources including social media (see SWGDAM, 2020).

Individuals identified as familial matches by law enforcement risk having their submitted username, such as an alias, email address, or other identifying factors, shared with law enforcement. This may be a greater invasion of privacy than the genealogical researcher had originally contemplated, despite contractual disclosures (see Panacer, 2023).

The law enforcement agent analyzes the family tree to see if anyone in the family tree could be of interest to the rest of the investigation. Once this is completed, law enforcement will then return to regular investigative techniques (e.g., interviews, surveillance) (Kling et al., 2021). In most instances, law enforcement will seek a warrant to obtain a DNA sample for renewed testing against the original crime scene sample and decide whether the sample can be excluded as the source of the crime scene.

The obvious problem with using a genealogical database to discover the identity of a potential criminal or unidentified remains involves an expectation of privacy on the part of the amateur genealogist who has submitted their own DNA for the sole purpose of matching as a relative to other amateur genealogists with the same sole purpose. The consumer hasn't realistically consented to being put in the position of an unwilling informant by submitting their DNA sample to the commercial database.

RÉSUMÉ

Forensic Genetic Genealogy: The Unwilling Informant

JANNE HOLMGREN

Mount Royal University, Calgary (AB)

Janne Holmgren examine l'arrestation de Joseph James DeAngelo — identifié en 2018 comme le Golden State Killer grâce à la généalogie génétique médico-légale (GGM), un outil d'enquête à la fois puissant et controversé. La GGM combine l'analyse d'ADN et la recherche généalogique à partir de bases de données génétiques grand public pour retracer des parents éloignés d'un profil trouvé sur une scène de crime. Cette méthode a permis de résoudre des centaines d'affaires et d'identifier des milliers de personnes décédées non identifiées. Cependant, elle soulève d'importantes questions éthiques et juridiques concernant la vie privée des tiers et le consentement éclairé. À mesure que les forces de l'ordre se tournent vers des bases de données en libre accès comme GEDmatch, Holmgren s'interroge : les consommateurs sont-ils conscients des risques de devenir, à leur insu, des informateurs dans des enquêtes criminelles ? Elle souligne également les préoccupations croissantes au Canada, où les organismes de surveillance commencent à examiner et à encadrer l'utilisation de la généalogie génétique par les services policiers.

References

- DNASolves® (2024). <https://dnasolves.com/>
- Dowdeswell, T. (2024). Forensic Genetic Genealogy Project version December 2023". Mendeley Data, v1. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/35176668/>
- Erlich, Y., Shor, T., Pe'er, I., & Carmi, S. (2018). Identity inference of genomic data using long-range familial searches. New York, N.Y.: Science 362(6415): 690–694. <https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aau4832>
- FBI. (2022). CODIS NDIS Statistics. <https://le.fbi.gov/science-and-lab-resources/biometrics-and-fingerprints/codis/codis-ndis-statistics>
- FBI. (2025). CODIS NDIS Statistics. <https://le.fbi.gov/science-and-lab/biometrics-and-fingerprints/codis/codis-ndis-statistics>
- GEDmatch. (2024). <https://www.gedmatch.com/>
- GEDmatch PRO™. (2024). <https://pro.gedmatch.com/terms-use-june-15-2023>
- Glynn C. L. (2022). Bridging disciplines to form a new one: The emergence of forensic genetic genealogy. Genes 13(8), 1381. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genes13081381>
- Information and Privacy Commissioner of Ontario. (2025, June 24). Ontario's privacy commissioner issues guardrails for police use of investigative genetic genealogy. IPC.
- Kayser, M. (May 2017). Forensic use of Y-chromosome DNA: A general overview, 136. Human Genetics, 621. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28315050/>
- Guerrini, C. J., Robinson, J. O., Elsaid, M. I., Brooks, W. B., Levchenko, A., Fullerton, S. M., Huston, S., Crossnohere, N. L., Bridges, J. F. P., Dahlquist, J. M., Kalokairinou, L., Madden, D., Moore, C., & McGuire, A. L. (2025). FIGG at 5: An update on U.S. public perspectives on forensic investigative genetic genealogy five years after its introduction to criminal investigations. Forensic Science International 367, 112372. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forsciint.2025.112372>
- Kling, D., Philips, C., Kennett, D., & Tillmar, A. (2021). Investigative genetic genealogy: Current methods, knowledge and practice. [https://www.fsigenetics.com/article/S1872-4973\(21\)00013-2/fulltext](https://www.fsigenetics.com/article/S1872-4973(21)00013-2/fulltext)
- Lynch, J. (2023). Forensic genetic genealogy searches: What defense attorneys & policy makers need to know. <https://www.eff.org/wp/forensic-genetic-genealogy-searches-what-defense-attorneys-need-know>
- National Human Genome Research Institute. (2024). Centimorgan (cM). <https://www.genome.gov/genetics-glossary/Centimorgan>
- Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada. (2023, April 24). CBSA's use of consumer genealogy data in identifying a detainee's origins contravenes the Privacy Act. OPC.
- Panacer K. S. (2023). Ethical Issues Associated with direct-to-consumer genetic testing. Cureus 15(6), e39918. <https://doi.org/10.7759/cureus.39918>
- Scientific Working Group on DNA Analysis Methods (SWGDM). (2020). Overview of investigative genetic genealogy. https://www.swgdam.org/_files/ugd/4344b0_6cc9e7c82ccc4fc0b5d10217af64e31b.pdf
- Tuazon, O. M., Wickenheiser, R. A., Ansell, R., Guerrini, C. J., Zwenne, G. J., & Custers, B. (2024). Law enforcement use of genetic genealogy databases in criminal investigations: Nomenclature, definition and scope. Forensic Science International: Synergy 8, 100460. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fsisyn.2024.100460>
- Wickenheiser, R. A. (2019). Forensic genealogy, bioethics and the Golden State Killer case. Forensic Science International: Synergy, 1, 114–125. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fsisyn.2019.07.003>

Rehabilitative architecture: A barrier-less future or invisible barrier cemented?

MEGAN DAVIDSON

MRes (University of Liverpool, UK); BA (Hons), Mount Royal University

This article is based on a systematic literature review.¹ It critiques a perceived overemphasis on architectural reform in the increasing global discourse on prison design, arguing that insufficient attention has been paid to the integration of rehabilitative programming. While international scholars such as Jewkes, Moran, and Engström have foregrounded the ethical and psychological dimensions of spatial design, few have explored how design integrates with specific rehabilitative programming. Nordic prisons exemplify coherent models where space, staffing, and services are aligned toward reintegration, unlike Canadian facilities, where outdated infrastructure often undermines programming efforts. Highlighting a global need for interdisciplinary research that links spatial reform with rehabilitation, the author emphasises the importance of a grounded Canadian approach aligned with the TRC Call to Action No. 30.

INTRODUCTION

The design of prisons shapes more than the daily routines of incarcerated people—it reflects the values and assumptions of the penal system itself. In recent years, a growing body of international literature has emphasized how architecture can either reinforce punitive logics or enable rehabilitation. Among the most influential voices in this shift are Yvonne Jewkes and Dominique Moran, two leading UK-based criminologists whose work reframes prison design as a vital component of ethical correctional policy. Through projects like *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Design* (2023), they have helped legitimize spatial analysis within criminological research and advocated for human-centred environments that support dignity and well-being.

BEYOND AESTHETICS: THE ARCHITECTURE OF HARM OR HEALING

Their work acknowledges the limits of architecture alone. Human design features—such as natural light, privacy, and normalized movement—can reduce institutional harm and support psychological resilience, but they are not substitutes

for programming. The most effective prison systems, especially in Nordic countries, integrate rehabilitative design with education, therapy, and cultural reintegration initiatives. Jewkes, Moran, Turner, and others consistently argue that space and ideology must cohere for rehabilitation to take root, though few have conducted in-depth programmatic evaluations.

THE RELATIVE ABSENCE OF REHABILITATIVE ARCHITECTURE IN CANADA

In Canada, aside from healing lodges, this integrated theoretical framework remains largely aspirational, especially considering that most federal institutions were constructed decades ago with confinement and punishment—not rehabilitation—as central rationales. Although some efforts have been made to modernize facilities and introduce programming, the absence of rehabilitative architecture often undermines these initiatives, making them largely symbolic. As this article will argue, using data from a systematic literature review conducted by the author, if Canada is to meet its commitments

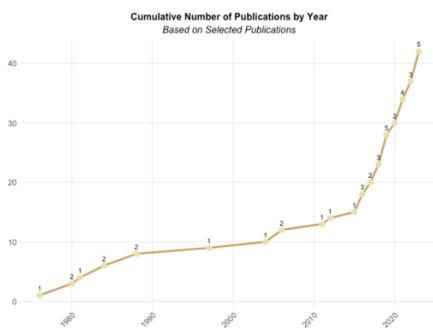
1. The systematic literature review was conducted during the author's MRes research at the University of Liverpool, UK.

under the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action and reduce the overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in custody, then the "built movement" must start incorporating rehabilitative programming into design.

INTERNATIONAL GROWTH IN REHABILITATIVE PRISON ARCHITECTURE LITERATURE

The literature on "rehabilitative prison architecture"² is growing internationally. Jewkes and Moran have played a central role in shaping the discourse around the influence of prison architecture on well-being, legitimacy, and rehabilitation. Their work has helped shift the conversation from operational or punitive frameworks toward design models grounded in ethics, dignity, and spatial justice, through collaborative projects such as *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Design* (2023), as well as Moran's foundational contributions to carceral geography. They have positioned prison design as a legitimate and essential domain within the field of criminological inquiry. Over the last six years, international literature on prison architecture has increased from fewer than one publication per year to more than four, as shown in Figure 1³.

Figure 1



Source: Figure created by the author based on data from Davidson (2024), Exploring rehabilitative spaces in carceral design: A systematic review of prison architecture literature (unpublished master's thesis, University of Liverpool, UK).

While most scholars argue that rehabilitative design can support education, therapy, and other programming, they stop short of systematically analyzing how different architectural designs influence rehabilitative programming. Their work underscores the importance of spatial design as a

necessary precondition for effective programming—but also implies the need for future collaborative research that brings together design and programming expertise.

While Jewkes and Moran (2017), Turner and Moran (2019), and Engström and van Ginneken (2022) do not systematically analyze rehabilitative programming in the way correctional education experts or policy evaluators might, their work and the broader debate on prison design highlight how the physical environment of prisons can directly undermine any potential for rehabilitation. Jewkes' (2024) article details how brutal design elements—razor wire, overcrowding, windowless cells, neglected spaces—embed a logic of harm and punishment over healing and hope. These architectural features communicate to incarcerated people that they are unwanted, with spaces saturated in signs of violence, despair, and rejection.

In his critique of prison design, Wener (2012, p. 7) emphasized the symbolic role of design:

Jails and prisons are more than just warehouses of bed space for arrested or convicted men and women. They are more complicated environments than good or bad, comfortable or not. The design of a jail or prison is critically related to the institution's philosophy or maybe even the entire criminal justice system. It is the physical manifestation of a society's goals and approaches for dealing with arrested and/or convicted men and women.

Emerging approaches advocate for integrating rehabilitative programming with design that fosters dignity and humanity. As described in Jewkes' (2024) article, design choices such as humane reception areas, communal gardens, and bright, therapeutic spaces can support positive identities and a future-oriented mindset among prisoners, promoting attachments to family, skills, and self-improvement. Importantly, these shifts are not just about aesthetics but about making rehabilitative work—such as education, workshops, and therapy—possible and effective. Design that enables hope, belonging, and personal growth can help prisoners see themselves not just as offenders, but as parents, workers, and

2. In this situation, the author is referring to Engstrom and van Ginneken's (2022) definition of rehabilitative prison architecture, as created through their 2022 systematic literature review of ethical prison architecture.

3. Data is available through the author, Megan Davidson, at megan.davidson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk.

community members. Thus, for programming to succeed, it must be fundamentally integrated into the physical and social fabric of prisons—a lesson both the research literature and progressive architectural experiments underscore.

Jewkes and Moran (2017) emphasize design as a necessary condition for rehabilitation to occur, but not a sufficient one. They argue strongly that architectural reform alone is insufficient and must be part of a broader rehabilitative ideology. But their work is not a programmatic analysis—they do not assess or propose specific education, therapy, or re-entry models. Rather, they highlight the enabling role of space in making such programming viable.

Turner and Moran (2019) provide evidence that environmental features contribute to a rehabilitative ethos, especially in Nordic contexts where programming is robust. In their work on nature contact in prisons, they tie physical design to mental health, normalization, and dignity, which indirectly supports rehabilitative goals. Again, they do not deeply analyze programming curricula, delivery models, or outcomes.

Engström and van Ginneken (2022) synthesize existing literature to argue for the architectural conditions that enable rehabilitative work—but they do not study the programs themselves. As part of their systematic literature review, they go the furthest in articulating the intersection between ethics, space, and rehabilitation. They explicitly state that ethical design must support pro-social interaction, education, and therapy but rely on existing studies and take no deep dive into program implementation or outcomes. More recently, van Ginneken et al. (2023) have contributed to closing this gap by examining the relationship between prison unit conditions and recidivism in the United States. However, the study stops short of isolating architectural interventions as causal factors. Currently, no research examines the direct links between the prison environment and rehabilitation programming.

The author's systematic review, conducted for Davidson (2024), found 31 design trends, several of which relate to autonomy, privacy, and humane

treatment.⁴ The design trends most common within the literature included access to and views of green spaces, architectural character, and lighting, among others not discussed due to the brevity of this article. The overwhelming theme of these results is the impact of prison infrastructure. To contextualise the review's international findings, a reflection on their implications for the Canadian correctional system is needed to determine appropriate next steps toward developing more rehabilitative and humane prison environments.

As Seppänen et al. (2018) note, architectural features are often large-scale facets of a prison's design and require early consideration of design trends. In prisons purpose-built for rehabilitation, such as Halden Prison (Norway) studied in Abdel-Salam and Kilmer (2023), prisoners' experiences and interpretations of the space (i.e., well-being) tend to align with the designers' aims. Within therapeutic and programming spaces, prisoners are often expected to express personal aspects about themselves and their lives—but instead of feeling empowered, many report feeling trapped and pressured to perform. Although research on the importance of privacy is extensive, many prisons continue to hinder it actively. Findings in this area indicate the need to create private spaces—physically, visually, and auditorily—to reduce sensory deprivation and humanise the prison experience (Moore, 1981). Similarly, enabling autonomous movement has been linked to prisoner well-being (Karthaus et al., 2017).

Visible light has been linked to effects on emotions and systemic physiologic responses (Zilber, 1993). Natural and soft lighting has been connected to feelings of well-being (Evans, 2003; Wener, 2012; Francis et al., 2022) and reduced perceptions of disorder and violence (Lamoreaux and Sulkowski, 2021). Kim and Kim (2007) found that prisoner well-being could be enhanced by improving light sources' variability, intensity, and quality. Overall, no matter the environment, natural and soft lighting is a key factor in creating healthier settings. Control over lighting also affected prisoners' well-being and visual comfort (Kim and Kim, 2007; Figueiro et al., 2011; Frontczak and Wargocki, 2011). Despite this, further research is needed to fully understand the

4. Data is available through contacting the author.

link between lighting and the effects on mood and behavioural outcomes, including the use of both artificial and natural lighting in prison settings, as explored by Figueiro et al. (2011).

It is clear from the research that more restorative and rehabilitative environments can be built to support better outcomes within the correctional system. Canada has had many opportunities to create more restorative carceral environments with this in mind. While some progress has been made through new builds, most prison environments are still grossly underdeveloped to complement the programming offered within their walls. Without investments in the prison infrastructure and valuing the space as a rehabilitation tool, we will continue to see high recidivism.

CANADA'S RELATIONSHIP TO ARCHITECTURAL REFORM

Beyond Aesthetics: The Architecture of Harm or Healing

Despite the aforementioned research, a key gap remains in the peer-reviewed literature regarding the impact of design on rehabilitation and recidivism. Experimental evidence demonstrating that specific architectural interventions directly reduce reoffending remains particularly scarce in the Canadian context. Policy-focused sources (e.g., Public Safety Canada, EuroPris) note that while well-being is linked to design features such as light, privacy, or visitation quality, there is limited empirical evidence tying these features to recidivism outcomes (Public Safety Canada, 2022; SAGE Journals). As a result, the field of architectural reform remains nascent in Canada.

Most Canadian federal prisons were built between the 1930s and 1970s, with a few dating back to the 1800s. These facilities were designed primarily for security and confinement consistent with a punishment rationale—not rehabilitation. While some new builds and major renovations occurred in later decades, they often reflected a shift toward correctional programming but were not necessarily intertwined with rehabilitative architectural principles.

Recent research and policy work provide clearer

pathways for reforming prison environments in Canada. Kelsey Wilkinson's (2020) thesis from Dalhousie University argues that facilities like Quebec's Cowansville Institution should move toward "normalized" spaces and relational environments—meaning architecture and layout that encourage everyday routines, meaningful relationships, and human dignity, all essential for rehabilitation. Her analysis, while referencing Cowansville as a case example, reflects broader principles applicable across Canadian correctional facilities. Wilkinson proposes design guidelines that foreground the lived experience of prisoners, such as access to natural light, community spaces, and structured opportunities for positive social interaction, which are proven to reduce institutional harm and support reintegration (Wilkinson, 2020).

Policy briefs from the John Howard Society emphasise the importance of physical conditions—such as light, cleanliness, overcrowding, and access to green spaces—not only for individual well-being but also for institutional safety and rehabilitation. Research links poor environments to increased violence, mental health challenges, and diminished outcomes for both prisoners and staff. The most effective environments are clean, spacious, and promote community, supporting mental and physical health while reducing tension and conflict (John Howard Society, 2019).

A 2023 mixed-methods study in Atlantic Canada assessed prison life quality by measuring spatial comfort, natural area access, and overall well-being in relation to institutional design (Ricciardelli, 2023). These findings confirm that when physical environments mimic aspects of normal life and foster opportunities for exercise, privacy, and positive socialisation, the benefits extend to reduced disorder, better mental health, and improved institutional climate (Ricciardelli, 2023).

However, despite incremental changes and localized success, the federal prison infrastructure remains outdated and disconnected from restorative or culturally appropriate approaches, particularly for Indigenous populations. Calls to action from bodies like the TRC and ongoing advocacy urge federal, provincial, and territorial governments to prioritize the elimination of Aboriginal overrepresentation in

custody—and to track their progress transparently.

Signs of Change: Justice Policy and Design Innovation in Canada

Together, these scholarly and policy interventions make clear that humane, responsive prison design is not merely an aesthetic issue but central to rehabilitation, basic dignity, and justice. They provide actionable models for moving beyond the status quo, building facilities that truly support healing and reintegration for all.

As of March 10, 2025, the Government of Canada has made key moves to address systemic discrimination and the overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in the criminal justice system. The Department of Justice released the Indigenous Justice Strategy (IJS), following two years of consultations with Indigenous communities, organizations, and practitioners. This strategy represents a collaborative vision, with priorities centred on Indigenous self-determination and reducing Indigenous over-incarceration. The IJS sets out pathways to transform the justice system, recognizing Indigenous rights to control and administer justice in their own communities, and recommending foundational changes based on the lived experiences and recommendations of those most affected (Department of Justice Canada, 2025; Yellowhead Institute, 2025).

Healing by Design: The Promise of Culturally Grounded Spaces and the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Calls to Action (2015), especially Call to Action 30, explicitly urge governments to eliminate the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in custody within the next decade and to report on progress annually. Despite persistent advocacy and incremental policy steps, overrepresentation remains alarmingly high—Indigenous people now constitute about 32% of the federally incarcerated population, and Indigenous women account for roughly half of women in federal custody, starkly disproportionate to their population share (CBC News, 2024; TRC, 2015). The release of the Indigenous Justice Strategy (2025) marks a critical step in operationalizing TRC 30 and related Calls to Action, but sustained government and institutional commitment—including structural

change—will be essential to progress.

Central to both federal reforms and the spirit of the TRC Calls to Action (2015) are healing lodges—facilities that embody culturally integrated, land-based, and restorative approaches for Indigenous offenders. The concept of healing lodges originated as a direct response to the concerns from Indigenous communities that mainstream institutional programs were inadequate. Since 1995, healing lodges such as Okimaw Ohci and Stan Daniels have provided environments grounded in Indigenous knowledges, spiritual teachings, and holistic healing methods. These facilities often blend natural settings, community relationships, and therapeutic programming, sharply diverging from conventional carceral design (Correctional Service Canada, 2024).

Healing lodges represent one of the few correctional models in Canada where architectural setting, natural environment, and culturally rooted design are deliberately integrated to support Indigenous worldviews and rehabilitative goals.⁵ Studies on therapeutic architecture and nature-based interventions confirm that exposure to nature—through gardens, natural light, and land-based activities—can significantly improve psychological health, emotional regulation, and rehabilitation outcomes. Nature-rich spaces promote calmness, creativity, and self-reflection, making them especially effective for culturally grounded healing and forensic treatment (Russo, 2023; Adams et al., 2019; Simonsen et al., 2024). In Canada, healing lodges integrate these principles, using outdoor settings, natural materials, and traditional ceremonial spaces to support both cultural reconnection and restorative justice.

Bridging Gaps: Empirical Evidence Begins with Healing Lodges

Although definitive causal links between healing lodge architecture and long-term recidivism remain under-researched, recent Canadian evaluations show that Indigenous offenders released from healing lodges have experienced lower or delayed returns (Hanby et al., 2022). These findings provide rare evidence from Canada that will help fill a significant gap in the international literature on the effects of carceral design when integrated with

5. While the healing lodge model emphasizes land-based design and culturally informed architecture, not all existing lodges were purpose-built. Some are adapted from pre-existing facilities, and the degree of architectural integration varies. Nonetheless, both federal and Indigenous-operated healing lodges reflect a deliberate effort to align setting, space, and programming with Indigenous worldviews and holistic rehabilitation principles (Correctional Service Canada, 2024).

culturally grounded programming and will lead to further research to validate the findings.

Overall, the intersection of policy reforms, TRC Calls to Action, and healing lodge design highlights the ongoing need to centre Indigenous voices, natural components, and culturally appropriate approaches in building a transformative justice system for all.

CONCLUSION: FROM CONFINEMENT TO CONNECTION

In summary, meaningful prison reform in Canada hinges not only on policy change but also on the holistic integration of culturally grounded, natural, and rehabilitative design within correctional environments. The federal government's recent initiatives, including the Indigenous Justice Strategy and greater alignment with the TRC Calls to Action, represent critical steps; yet, the persistent overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in custody underscores the ongoing need for systemic transformation (Department of Justice Canada, 2025; TRC, 2015).

Healing lodges, with their emphasis on land-based, restorative approaches and incorporation of natural elements, exemplify what is possible when Indigenous knowledge and evidence-based design converge to create spaces that genuinely support rehabilitation and healing (Correctional Service Canada, 2024; Russo, 2023).

Ultimately, to promote justice, well-being, and true reconciliation, Canadian prisons must shift away from punitive, outdated models toward environments that foster human dignity, community connection, and hope. The integration of natural components, culturally meaningful programming, and sustained government accountability will be crucial in developing correctional systems that promote healing rather than harm, supporting both individual transformation and broader societal progress.

RÉSUMÉ

Rehabilitative architecture: A barrier-less future or invisible barrier cemented?

MEGAN DAVIDSON

Cet article, fondé sur une revue systématique de la littérature menée par l'auteur dans le cadre de ses recherches de maîtrise (MRes) à University of Liverpool (R.-U.), remet en question la place dominante accordée à la réforme architecturale dans le discours international sur la conception des prisons. L'auteure soutient que trop peu d'attention est accordée à l'intégration des programmes de réhabilitation. Si des chercheuses et chercheurs comme Jewkes, Moran et Engström ont mis en avant les dimensions éthiques et psychologiques de l'espace carcéral, peu ont examiné la manière dont la conception s'articule avec les programmes de réinsertion. Les prisons nordiques illustrent des modèles à la fois cohérents et intégrés, où l'espace, le personnel et les services convergent vers la réintégration, contrairement aux établissements canadiens dont l'infrastructure vieillissante entrave souvent les efforts de réhabilitation. L'auteure souligne la nécessité d'une recherche interdisciplinaire reliant la réforme spatiale à la réinsertion, et plaide pour une approche canadienne ancrée dans l'appel à l'action no 30 de la CVR.

References

- Abdel-Salam, S. and Kilmer, A. (2023). "A prison is a prison": Perspectives from incarcerated men on the therapeutic and punitive aspects of Halden Prison in Norway. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 63(4), 929–947. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azac054>
- Adams, M., Jordan, M., & Johnsen, S. (2019). Nature-based interventions for improving health and wellbeing: A scoping review. *International Journal of Environmental Health Research*, 29(3), 310–334. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC6628071/>
- CBC News. (2024, December 31). Eliminate the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in custody over the next decade. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. <https://www.cbc.ca/newsinteractives/beyond-94/eliminate-the-overrepresentation-of-aboriginal-people-in-custody-over-the-next-decade>
- Clay, R.A. (2001). Green is good for you. *Monitor on Psychology*, 32(1), 1–16.
- Correctional Service Canada. (2024). History of healing lodges. <https://www.canada.ca/en/correctional-service/programs/offenders/indigenous-corrections/healing-lodges/history-healing-lodges.html>
- Davidson, M. (2024). Rehabilitative architecture: A systematic literature review from the UK and beyond (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Liverpool, UK.
- Department of Justice Canada. (2025, March 10). Canada's first federal Indigenous Justice Strategy to address systemic discrimination and overrepresentation in the Canadian justice system. <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-justice/news/2025/03/canadas-first-federal-indigenous-justice-strategy-to-address-systemic-discrimination-and-overrepresentation-in-the-canadian-justice-system.html>
- Engstrom, K.V. and van Ginneken, E.F.J.C. (2022). Ethical prison architecture: A systematic literature review of prison design features related to wellbeing. *Space and Culture*, 25(3), 479–503. <https://doi.org/10.1177/12063312221104211>
- Evans, G.W. (2003). The built environment and mental health. *Journal of Urban Health*, 80(4), 536–555. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jurban/jtg063>
- Figueiro, M.G. et al. (2011). Measuring circadian light and its impact on adolescents. *Lighting Research & Technology*, 43(2), 201–215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477153510382853>
- Francis, J. et al. (2022). School built environments and bullying behaviour: A conceptual model based on qualitative interviews. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(23). <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192315955>
- Frontczak, M. and Wargocki, P. (2011). Literature survey on how different factors influence human comfort in indoor environments. *Building and Environment*, 46(4), 922–937.
- Hanby, L. et al. (2022). Indigenous healing lodges: Impacts on offender reintegration and community outcomes (Research Report R-437). Ottawa, Ontario: Correctional Service of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/csc-ccc/migration/005/008/092/005008-r437_M-en.pdf
- Heerwagen, J.H. et al. (1998, September 23–28). Energy effectiveness and the ecology of work: Links to productivity and well-being. In *Proceedings of the 1998 ACEEE Summer Study on Energy Efficiency in Buildings* (Pacific Grove, CA, United States). American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy. <https://www.osti.gov/biblio/20006346>
- Jewkes, Y., & Moran, D. (2017). The paradox of the "normal" prison. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), 1–19.
- Jewkes, Y. (2018). Just design: Healthy prisons and the architecture of hope, Australian and New Zealand. *Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), 319–338. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865818766768>
- Jewkes, Y. (2024, September 24). Places to heal, not to harm: Why brutal prison design kills off hope. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2024/sep/24/places-to-heal-not-to-harm-why-brutal-prison-design-kills-off-hope>
- John Howard Society. (2019, June 1). Physical environment in prisons. <https://johnhoward.ca/blog/prison-physical-environment-research/>
- Karthauss, R., Hough, R., & Institute for Government. (2017). Wellbeing in prison design: A guide [Design toolkit report]. Matter Architecture. [chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.matterarchitecture.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/421-op-02_Design-toolkit-report-online.pdf](https://www.matterarchitecture.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/421-op-02_Design-toolkit-report-online.pdf)
- Kim, S.Y. and Kim, J.J. (2007). The effect of fluctuating illuminance on visual sensation in a small office. *Indoor and Built Environment*, 16(4), 331–343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1420326X06079947>
- Lamoreaux, D.J. and Sulkowski, M.L. (2021). Crime prevention through environmental design in schools: Students' perceptions of safety and psychological comfort. *Psychology in the Schools*, 58(3), 475–493. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22459>
- Marrero, D. (1977). Spatial dimensions of democratic prison reform: Human space and political participation in prison. *The Prison Journal*, 57(2), 31–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003288557705700204>
- Moore, E.O. (1981). A prison environment's effect on health care service demands. *Journal of Environmental Systems*, 11(1), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.2190/km50-wh2k-k2d1-dm69>
- Jewkes, Y., & Moran, D. (2017). The paradox of the "normal" prison. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), 1–19.
- Moran, D. and Turner, J. (2019). Turning over a new leaf: The health-enabling capacities of nature contact in prison. *Social Science and Medicine*, 231, 62–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2018.05.032>
- Mount Royal University. (n.d.). Begin your decolonization journey. <https://www.mtroyal.ca/IndigenousMountRoyal/office-of-Indigenization-and-decolonization/Decolonization.htm>
- Ricciardelli, R. (2023). Quality of prison life in Canada's Atlantic provinces: A mixed-methods assessment of institutional design. *Prison Journal*, 103(2), 288–314. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00328855231154794>
- Russo, A. (2023). Designing healing environments: A literature review [Report]. University of Gloucestershire. [https://eprints.glos.ac.uk/12664/1/12664%20RUSSO%20Alessio%20\(2023\)%20Designing%20Healing%20Environments%20A%20Literature%20Review.pdf](https://eprints.glos.ac.uk/12664/1/12664%20RUSSO%20Alessio%20(2023)%20Designing%20Healing%20Environments%20A%20Literature%20Review.pdf)
- Seppänen, A. Läätenvuo, M., Törmänen, I., & Vartiainen, H. (2018). Modern forensic psychiatric hospital design: Clinical, legal and structural aspects. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 12(1), 58. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13033-018-0238-7>
- Simonsen, K., Weber, S., & Yeh, T. (2024). It looks like nature: A phenomenological study of the built environment in psychiatric spaces. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 15, Article 11451331. <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11451331/>
- Sloan, J. (2012). "You can see your face in my floor": Examining the function of cleanliness in an adult male prison. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 51(4), 400–410.
- Szuta, A. (2019) A new take on penitentiary architecture'. *Przestrzeń i Forma*, 39, 131–142. <https://doi.org/10.21005/pif.2019.39.B-07>
- Tartaro, C. (2006). Watered down: Partial implementation of the new generation jail philosophy. *The Prison Journal*, 86(3), 284–300. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885506290851>
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to action. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf
- Turner, J. and Moran, D. (2019). Careful control: The infrastructure of water in carceral space, *Area*, 51(2), 208–215. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12461>
- UK Parliament. (1910, July 20). House of Commons debate: Class III (Vol. 19, cc. 1326–57). https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1910/jul/20/class-iii#S5CV0019P0_19100720_HOC_288
- Ulrich, R. (1991). Effects of interior design on wellness: Theory and recent scientific research. *Journal of Health Care Interior Design: Proceedings from the Symposium on Health Care Interior Design*, 3, 97–109.
- Wener, R. E. (2012). The environmental psychology of prisons and jails: Creating humane spaces in secure settings. Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkinson, K. (2020). The Prison Landscape: Redefining Built Form to Support Rehabilitation (Master's thesis, Dalhousie University). Dalhousie University Digital Archives. <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/items/f64b38c7-bd7b-4f57-af53-28fdccf5dccb>
- Yellowhead Institute. (2025, October 16). The Indigenous Justice Strategy: "Progressive and transformative reform". Toronto Metropolitan University. <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2025/the-indigenous-justice-strategy-progressive-and-transformative-reform/>
- Zilber, S. (1993). Review of health effects of indoor lighting. *Architronic*, 2(3). <http://architronic.saed.kent.edu/v2n3/v2n3.06.html>

Judicial Interim Release Reform in Canada

ANGEL K. GREWAL

Bachelor of Arts – Criminal Justice (Honours), Class of 2026

Best Term Paper of 2025 – Mount Royal University, Calgary, Alberta

Angel K. Grewal examines the evolution of Canada's bail system through Bills C-75 (2019) and C-48 (2023), tracing how lawmakers have sought to balance Charter rights with public safety. Bill C-75 aimed to codify restraint to keep those accused who are innocent out of pre-trial detention, reducing remand overcrowding and promoting fairness—particularly for Indigenous and vulnerable accused. Bill C-48, by contrast, reversed that direction, expanding reverse-onus provisions that make release more difficult for those accused of certain offences. Grewal argues that these contradictory impulses—one toward restraint and decarceration, the other toward control and pre-emptive detention—signal a fragmented system. She calls for ongoing modernization to ensure fairness, equity, and renewed public confidence in the administration of justice.

CHARTER CONTEXT

One of the fundamental rules of law in Canada is that every process and decision must comply with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which always takes precedence in interpreting rights, evidence, and procedure. The Charter must not be violated (D. S. Tavcer, personal communication, January 4, 2024). Specific Charter rights governing judicial interim release include the presumption of innocence (s. 11(d)), the right not to be denied reasonable bail without just cause (s. 11(e)), the right to life, liberty, and security of the person (s. 7), and the right to be free from arbitrary detention (s. 9) (Stewart, 2022).

Judicial Interim Release (bail) allows an accused person to be released from pre-trial detention (i.e., remand) into the community while awaiting trial. The concept of bail has long been subject to public scrutiny; however, in recent years, Canada has introduced reforms to strengthen its bail system, reflecting the country's evolving legal system.

Initiating the Bail Process

Before the bail process even begins, an accused must first attend court to face the charge—through a summons, appearance notice, or arrest with or

without a warrant. A summons or arrest with a warrant requires prior judicial scrutiny; in contrast, an appearance notice and arrest without a warrant are made without judicial scrutiny (King, Lecture 3, 2024). Police must always have “reasonable grounds to believe” that an offence occurred before taking any action (King, Lecture 3, 2024)¹.

In simpler terms, the notion of having reasonable grounds to believe refers to an officer having evidence of a crime or having a strong belief that substantial evidence would be found upon completing a search (King, 2024). Once charged and taken into custody, the person must appear before a judge within twenty-four hours for a “show-cause” hearing (Government of Alberta, 2024a), more commonly known as a bail hearing.

Just Cause: Grounds for Detention

Before being placed in remand, the accused has the right to reasonable bail. At the bail hearing, the onus is on the Crown to prove, on a balance of probabilities, why pre-trial detention (i.e., remand) is necessary (Government of Canada, 2024). The Crown may argue detention on one or more of three grounds: (1) to ensure the accused attends court, (2) to protect public safety (including victims and

¹. Concept discussed in Doug King, Lecture 2: Search and seizure, authorizations, and production orders (Unpublished classroom handout, Mount Royal University, January 2024).

witnesses), or (3) to maintain public confidence in the administration of justice (Stewart, 2022).

If the judge agrees with any of these grounds, bail is denied and the accused remains in custody pending trial. In some cases, the burden shifts under a “reverse onus” provision—long established in Canadian law but expanded by Bill C-48 (2023)—meaning the accused, rather than the Crown, must show and justify why release should be granted (King, Lecture 2, 2024).² Only certain serious offences trigger a “reverse-onus,” under section 515(6)—including repeat violent offences, specified firearm and weapons offences, as well as some of the most serious indictable crimes such as treason and piracy listed in section 469 (R.S.C. 1985, c. C-46) (King, Lecture 2, 2024). When bail is granted, judges must apply the “ladder principle” (Sharpe & Roach, 2021), imposing the least-restrictive conditions necessary. Section 515 outlines the forms a release may take, from an undertaking with no conditions [s. 515(1)], an undertaking with conditions [s. 515(2)(a)] to a recognizance with or without deposit or surety [s. 515 (2) (b-c)] (Criminal Code, RSC 1985, c C-46).

CHANGES TO LEGISLATION

In a free and democratic society, we must not bring the administration of justice into disrepute. Guided by this Charter principle and responding to public criticisms of a “too lenient” bail system, two reforms have been introduced in recent years: Bill C-75 (2019)³ and Bill C-48 (2023).⁴ Both aim to balance public safety while upholding Charter rights.

Bill C-75

Bill C-75 (2019) clarified and streamlined Canada’s bail provisions in the Criminal Code and Youth Criminal Justice Act, aiming to reduce delays in releasing the accused, ease remand overcrowding, and address the overrepresentation of marginalized groups, while reinforcing public safety (Berger et al., 2024). The Bill affirmed the “principle of restraint,” requiring police and courts to release accused persons at the earliest opportunity and under the least-onerous conditions possible (King, Lecture 3, 2024).⁵

Although Indigenous peoples represent only 5 percent of Canada’s population, they are approximately 28% of all federally sentenced

offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2023), representing a gross overrepresentation. Bill C-75 required police and courts to consider the circumstances of Indigenous accused persons (Berger et al., 2024).

Finally, the Bill introduced judicial referral hearings for administration-of-justice offences, such as breaches of bail, giving police and courts an alternative to laying new criminal charges (Government of Canada, 2020). Under these hearings, created through Bill C-75, judges may take no action, alter or replace release conditions, or detain the accused. This process applies only to cases where no victim suffered economic, emotional, or physical harm (Government of Canada, 2020). In simple terms, these hearings allow a judge to review and, if necessary, modify the accused’s existing release conditions from a previous bail hearing, rather than laying a new criminal charge (Berger et al., 2024).

Bill C-48

According to Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) testimony before Ontario’s Standing Committee on Justice Policy (2023), 587 repeat offenders on bail violated their conditions between 2021 and 2022; 464 of them allegedly committed serious violent crimes, and 56 offences involved a firearm (Standing Committee on Justice Policy, 2023). Similar concerns were raised in Alberta, where 62% of adults accused of violent crimes were reportedly granted bail between September 2018 and October 2022 (Government of Alberta, 2024a).

Bill C-48 (2023), the most recent bill regarding bail reform in Canada, introduced further amendments to the Criminal Code to address repeat violent offending, particularly involving firearms and other weapons. Before Bill C-48, only certain firearm-related offences carried a reverse onus. Bill C-48 expanded this to include additional offences, such as other firearm-related offences, including possession of a prohibited or restricted firearm with ammunition (s. 95) or breaking and entering to steal a firearm (s. 98), robbery to steal a firearm (s. 98.1), and making an automatic firearm (s. 102) (Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1985, c. C-46).

This bill added a reverse onus to repeat violent offenders, including those involving firearms. It also

2. Concept discussed in Doug King, Lecture 3: Compelling an Accused Person to Court, Mount Royal University, January 2024 (unpublished classroom material).

3. Bill C-75, An Act to amend the Criminal Code, the Youth Criminal Justice Act and other Acts and to make consequential amendments to other Acts, 1st Sess., 42nd Parl., 2019 (S.C. 2019, c. 25). Received Royal Assent June 21, 2019; provisions came into force between 2019 and 2021.

4. Bill C-48, An Act to amend the Criminal Code (bail reform), 1st Sess., 44th Parl., 2023 (S.C. 2023, c. 28). Received Royal Assent on December 5, 2023; in force January 4, 2024.

5. Concept discussed in Doug King, Lecture 3: Compelling an Accused Person to Court (Unpublished classroom handout, Mount Royal University, January 2024).

expanded bail provisions to include Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) offences, requiring courts to consider previous convictions or guilty pleas (Government of Canada, 2023). According to the Government of Canada (2023), these measures were intended to protect public safety and preserve confidence in the justice system.

MY OPINION

Judicial interim release is a cornerstone of Canada’s criminal justice system, yet it remains complex and, at times, contradictory and possibly detrimental. Bill C-48 (2023) and Bill C-75 (2019) were both introduced to strengthen public confidence while ensuring community safety. Each reform reflects an ongoing effort to balance an individual’s Charter rights with the need for a just and safe community.

Bill C-75 highlighted the disproportionate impact of bail on marginalized communities and the importance of reducing delays in the criminal justice system. Bill C-48 sought to address ongoing concerns by making it more difficult for repeat violent offenders to obtain bail. Yet, these reforms also risk shifting the balance too far toward control rather than fairness.

The Government of Alberta’s *Public Safety Statutes Amendment Act* (2024b) received Royal Assent in May 2024, introducing ankle monitors for high-risk offenders and those out on bail to track their locations, making the streets and communities safer. Creating specialized support officers, similar to parole and probation officers, for accused persons out on bail could strengthen supervision while upholding the presumption of innocence.

Ultimately, while reforms to Canada’s bail system are intended to enhance safety, they must also safeguard the rights guaranteed under sections 7, 8, and 11 of the Charter. Balancing Charter rights and public safety remains a complex challenge, and Canada still has a long way to go in modernizing its bail system.

CONCLUSION

Judicial interim release (bail) has a significant impact on the lives of accused individuals in the criminal justice system. Once an individual makes contact with the system, their liberty is immediately at stake. This underscores the need for ongoing reform. Although we must strive for justice, there is always room for scrutiny and improvement. The implementation of Bills C-75 and C-48 is a

key example of this ongoing effort. Together, they seek to address violent offending, remand overcrowding, and the disproportionate impacts of bail on marginalized communities while reinforcing public safety and confidence in the system. Despite these reforms, Canada still has work to do before it can claim a fully fair and balanced bail regime that protects both public safety and the Charter rights of the accused.

References

Berger, L., Myers, N., & Deshman, A. (2024). Still failing: The deepening crisis of bail and pre-trial detention in Canada. Canadian Civil Liberties Association and Education Trust. Final Report. https://ccla.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/CCLA_Bail-Reform-Report-2024.pdf

Bill C-75, An Act to amend the Criminal Code, the Youth Criminal Justice Act and other Acts and to make consequential amendments to other Acts, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, 2019, (assented 21 June 2019).

Bill C-48 An Act to amend the Criminal Code (bail reform) 1st session, 44th Parliament, 2023, (assented 5 December 2023).

Criminal Code, RSC 1985, c C-46

Government of Alberta. (2024a). Canada’s bail system. Alberta.ca. <https://www.alberta.ca/canadas-bail-system>

Government of Alberta. (2024b). Keeping Alberta families and communities safe. Alberta.ca. <https://www.alberta.ca/keeping-alberta-families-and-communities-safe>

Public Prosecutions Canada. (2020, January 29). 3.20 judicial referral hearings. PPSC. <https://www.ppsc-sppc.gc.ca/eng/pub/fpsd-sfpg/fps-sfp/tpd/p3/ch20.html#:~:text=Judicial%20referral%20hearings%20are%20intended,involvement%20of%20new%20charges>.

Government of Canada. (2023, November 27). Charter statement Bill C-48: An act to amend the Criminal Code (Bail Reform). Government of Canada, Department of Justice, Electronic Communications. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/csj-sjc/pl/charter-charte/c48.html#:~:text=The%20amendments%20strengthen%20Canada's%20bail,in%20the%20administration%20of%20justice>.

Government of Canada, D. of J. (2024). 3.18 judicial interim release. PPSC. <https://www.ppsc-sppc.gc.ca/eng/pub/fpsd-sfpg/fps-sfp/tpd/p3/ch18.html>

Public Safety Canada. (2023, June 26). Parliamentary committee notes: Overrepresentation (Indigenous offenders). <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/trnsprnc/brfng-mtrls/prlmntry-bndrs/20230720/12-en.aspx#:~:text=Despite%20accounting%20for%20approximately%205,of%20all%20federally%20incarcerated%20women>

Sharpe, R. J., & Roach, K. (2021). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Seventh edition). Irwin Law.

Standing Committee on Justice Policy. (2023). A Report on the modernization of the bail system: Strengthening public safety. https://www.ola.org/sites/default/files/node-files/committee/report/pdf/2023/2023-03/Canadian%20Bail%20Reform_Final_English.pdf

Stewart, E. K. (2022). The Illusion of liberty: Examining the experiences of accused on judicial Interim Release (Bail) in Canada. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses.

RÉSUMÉ

Judicial Interim Release Reform in Canada

ANGEL GREWAL

Angel K. Grewal examine l'évolution du régime canadien de mise en liberté sous caution à travers les projets de loi C-75 (2019) et C-48 (2023), en retraçant les efforts des législateurs pour concilier les droits garantis par la Charte et la sécurité publique. Le projet de loi C-75 visait à codifier la retenue afin d'éviter que ceux qui sont accusés mais innocents soient détenus avant leur procès, à réduire la surpopulation en détention provisoire et à favoriser l'équité — particulièrement pour les personnes autochtones et vulnérables accusées. Le projet de loi C-48, à l'inverse, a renversé cette orientation en élargissant les dispositions de renversement du fardeau de la preuve, rendant la remise en liberté plus difficile pour certaines infractions. Grewal soutient que ces impulsions contradictoires — l'une vers la retenue et la décarcération, l'autre vers le contrôle et la détention préventive — révèlent un système fragmenté. Elle plaide pour une modernisation continue afin d'assurer la justice et l'équité et une confiance renouvelée du public dans l'administration de la justice.

COMING EVENTS

PROCHAINS ÉVÉNEMENTS

Published in the language submitted.
Publiés dans la langue dans laquelle ils sont soumis.

SAVE THE DATE! / INSCRIVEZ LA DATE À VOTRE CALENDRIER!

OCTOBER 25-30 OCTOBRE 2026

INTERNATIONAL CORRECTIONS AND PRISON ASSOCIATION (ICPA) ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The International Corrections and Prison Association (ICPA)

THEME - THÈME * Partnerships in a Modern Corrections Landscape: Responding to Increasing Growth and Complexity

PLACE - ENDROIT * Belfast, Northern Ireland

INFORMATION * <https://icpa.org/events/icpa-2026-annual-conference.html>

OCTOBER 27-28 OCTOBRE 2026

CIAJ-ICAJ 49TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ANNUELLE

Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice / Institut canadien d'administration de la justice

THEME - THÈME * Reimagining Law and Justice Through Restorative Approaches / Repenser le droit et la justice à travers les approches réparatrices

PLACE - ENDROIT * OTTAWA (ON), Canada

INFORMATION * <https://ciaj-icaj.ca/fr/programmes-a-venir/conference-annuelle-2026/>

NOVEMBER 15 NOVEMBRE 2026

MCJA CRIME PREVENTION BREAKFAST

Manitoba Criminal Justice Association / Association de Justice Pénale du Manitoba

KEYNOTE SPEAKER - CONFÉRENCIER D'HONNEUR * TBA (spring) / À déterminer (printemps)

PLACE - ENDROIT * The Fort Garry Hotel, Winnipeg, Manitoba

INFORMATION * <http://www.mcja.ca>

MARCH 3-7 MARS 2026

ACADEMY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SCIENCES (ACJS) 63RD ANNUAL MEETING

Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS)

THEME - THÈME * Crises Across the Criminal Justice Landscape: The Nexus of Governance and Responsibility.

PLACE - ENDROIT * Philadelphia Marriot Downtown Hotel, Philadelphia, PA, USA

INFORMATION * <https://www.acjs.org/annual-meeting/>

Please send notices about your events to ccjapubsacjp@gmail.com so we may add them to the list of Coming Events.
Veuillez envoyer les annonces pour vos événements au ccjapubsacjp@gmail.com nous permettant ainsi de les inscrire dans la liste des «Prochains événements».

JUSTICE

ACTUALITÉS - REPORT

ADVERTISEMENTS - PUBLICITÉS
ANNOUNCEMENTS - ANNONCES

1/4 page - \$100 1/2 page - \$150 1 page - \$250
seulement PDF only + \$75 colour - couleur

